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THE WORK OF ARNO HOLZ AND ITS RELATIONSHIP

TO ASPECTS OF TWENTIETH CENTURY, GERMAN LITERATURE.

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

In the introduction to Volume 10 of his work, published in 1924/5 by Dietz Verlag, Arno Holz wrote the following sentence:

Dieses Werk setze ich wie einen Markstein in die Geschichte menschlicher Wortkunst als Grenzscheide zweier Zeiten.¹

Although he himself had no doubts that he had made a greater contribution to the development of German literature than any other of his contemporaries,² Holz nevertheless reconciled himself, albeit somewhat reluctantly, to the fact that recognition of his achievements by his own age would always be denied him, the inevitable fate of a man ahead of his time:

es handelt sich bei mir... um einen allerseltensten Ausnahmefall! Um den eines Menschen, der, auf seinem Gebiet, seiner Zeit weit voraus geht, und der grade deshalb, seiner abnormen Leistungen wegen, nicht von ihr verstanden und begriffen wird!³

That Holz's critical judgement was not exactly one that tended to undervalue his own importance was a facet of his character of which even he was aware;⁴ and yet recent literary criticism has nevertheless proceeded very much in the direction in which these two statements point. For if the publication by Luchterhand in the years 1961 to 1964 of a new seven-volume collection of Holz's work may be said to have initiated a modest renaissance in Holz studies and thus to have rescued him, to a certain extent, from what he considered the relative oblivion imposed upon him by his own time, then it is also true to say that the focus of much subsequent research has revolved around the premise that Holz's work does constitute a significant, if not indeed primary, landmark in the development of modern German literature. The "Nachwort" to the Luchterhand edition, written by one of the editors, Wilhelm Emrich, and entitled "Arno Holz und die moderne Kunst", is typical of numerous

attempts to re-evaluate Holz's work, the tenor of the argument being exemplified by Emrich's opening paragraph:

Es gehört zu den ausweglosen Erfahrungen unserer Zeit, dass sie ihre eigene Wahrheit und Wirklichkeit nicht begreift und daher gerade diejenigen ihrer Dichter übersieht oder aus ihrer geistigen Diskussion ausklammert, die diese Wahrheit und Wirklichkeit kompromisslos gestalten bzw. selber anschaulich in ihrem Werk repräsentieren. Man wäre heute, nach einem über sechzigjährigen hoffnungslos verfahrenen Streit um das Wesen der modernen Kunst, bereits sehr viel weiter fortgeschritten in der Selbstdeutung unserer Zeit und ihrer Kunst, hätte man sich ernsthaft bemüht, die Dichtung und Kunsttheorie von Arno Holz, die am Anfang unserer sogenannten "modernen" Dichtung steht und ihre Entwicklung vierzig Jahre lang begleitet hat, wirklich von Innen her aufzuschliessen und in unser Bewusstsein zu heben.⁵

Emrich closes the essay by locating Holz at the beginning of a "tradition", which encompasses, amongst others, Marcel Proust, Thomas Mann, James Joyce, Robert Musil, Hermann Broch and Franz Kafka and concludes:

In diesem grossen geschichtlichen Zusammenhang muss das Werk von Arno Holz gesehen werden. Durch ihn wird es nicht nur gerechtfertigt, sondern auch in seiner poetischen Schönheit und Wahrheit gerettet.⁶

In general, I would not wish to disagree with the premise underpinning both Emrich's argument and many other similar studies;⁷ that is to say, in my opinion the work of Arno Holz is worthy of reconsideration and the primary aim of such a reconsideration should be the contextual one of defining his contemporary significance. Where I would disagree, however, is with the specific authors and modes of writing that recent criticism has sought to associate with Holz's work. In this respect Emrich's essay provides a good example, for it is highly questionable whether Holz's writing reveals any immediately discernible connection with that of those writers cited by Emrich. His argument suffers, then, from a double failing: firstly, it merely asserts rather than demonstrates the connection - and detailed textual comparison is conspicuously absent

in all such studies of Holz's work - and secondly - and arguably as a consequence of that omission - the authors he wishes to relate to Holz are not, in fact, those whose work offers the best comparison with Holz's writing. In a word, therefore, it is the aim of this dissertation to rectify these two failings in the hope that, by demonstrating concretely certain literary relationships, we may then be in a position to define more precisely the real significance of Holz's work for modern literature.

Since the principal difference between other studies of Holz and my own is a methodological one, it may be as well to identify briefly the basis of approach. Firstly, it lays no claim whatsoever to the status of "Wirkungsgeschichte" in the accepted sense of empirical impact studies. That is to say, it is much less the extrinsic approach of documenting reception and response processes than the intrinsic method, which focuses on the absolute value of the literary text. Secondly, although I will adduce them where relevant, my main concern is not that of the recording of artistic appreciations. That is to say, it is not my intention to identify the influence of Holz on other writers, firstly, because to prove rather than to impute influence requires historical evidence beyond the level of textual verification and secondly, because as Macherey has observed, influence is in any case largely something objective, existing independently of subjective acknowledgement,⁸ so that often analysis at this level may not transcend the status of unprovable hypothesis. For this reason I prefer to the idea of influence the more cautious term, "relationship", firstly because this too is something objective but something which can be demonstrated and secondly, because it can be, but need not be, restricted to examination of the text.

Holz once commented that "eine Definition...., die mehr umfasst,

als sie umfassen soll, ist keine"⁹ and accordingly it is necessary to define more precisely what is meant by "relationship", if the term is not to become so diffuse as to be virtually vacuous. Consequently, I propose to differentiate between three types or stages of relationship, namely, a parallel, a tendential relationship and a relationship of substantial identity. The most arbitrary and least significant of these is a parallel, for as Käte Hamburger has pointed out, strictly speaking the term implies that there can be no point of intersection.¹⁰ By parallel, therefore, is meant that largely incidental similarities exist which do not derive, however, from a common starting-point. A tendential relationship, on the other hand, is one in which it is possible to identify a common basis but where the differences, particularly as regards the text, are sufficiently great as severely to relativise or limit the degree of relationship. In contrast, a relationship of substantial identity refers to one which evinces a common starting-point and which, despite inevitable differences, nevertheless develops substantially the core of that starting-point as reflected above all in the text. I hope that the levels of differentiation, which these terms are intended to denote, will become more apparent in the course of comparative analysis. For the moment, I would like to add just one qualification to this scheme: obviously we are not concerned with pure imitation, for there, indeed, one would need to speak of "influence", as was the case with those writers who formed around Holz under the name of the "Sassenbach-Kreis".¹¹ Clearly, too, no writer of any repute merely reproduces Holz's literary techniques and nothing more, for if that were so, the results would be so meagre or derivative as to be scarcely worthy of separate analysis, as in fact is the case with the "Sassenbach-Kreis". It follows, therefore,

that any comparison must necessarily be selective in that consideration of the work of other writers must restrict itself solely to discussion of that which is relevant to its relationship to the work of Holz. At the same time such writers should be seen in the main as representative, in the sense that what concerns us are relationships, not so much with particular individuals, as with certain modes of writing.

Basically, there are three areas of Holz's work which I wish to examine: the early political poetry of Buch der Zeit, the prose-work commonly associated with the term "Sekundenstil" and the development of poetic form in his Phantasus poetry. I do not intend, however, to discuss his dramatic works because they either offer little in terms of relationships (as is the case with Die Sozialaristokraten or Traumulus, for example) or merely duplicate developments in other areas (as with Die Familie Selicke or Sonnenfinsternis and Ignorabimus). Of the three areas under consideration it is true to say that recent studies have concentrated predominantly on Holz's later poetry, the implication being that this is, as it were, his most "modern" work and reveals the greatest affinities with other literature. Hopefully, this dissertation will at least throw into question the validity of this particular emphasis, if not show it to be a view of Holz which substantially underestimates the significance for modern literature of other areas of his work.

C H A P T E R 1

B U C H D E R Z E I T

(i) HOLZ AND THE EMERGENCE OF GERMAN WORKING-CLASS LITERATURE

Holz.....(hat) mit einer Reihe von Gedichten, "über den bloss literarischen Naturalismus hinausgehend, zur Entwicklung der sozialistischen Lyrik in Deutschland beigetragen."¹

Ursula Münchow's judgement is scarcely typical of the reception of Holz's early poetry among the critics. Indeed, the conventional wisdom views Buch der Zeit as being wholly representative of the vituperative nature of the earliest phase of Naturalism. Regarded merely as a product of the natural exuberance and rebellion of youth, the work is thus seen as having little in common with what is held to be the more mature mood of later Naturalism, whereas aesthetically it is thought to be extremely derivative and as such to be hardly likely to have exercised any great influence over succeeding generations. Nor, it must be added, has Buch der Zeit fared any better among the critics of politically engaged literature, for although most accounts of the development of "Arbeiterdichtung", for instance will generally include a somewhat perfunctory reference to Holz, placing him in the tradition of Heine, Herwegh or Freiligrath, little attempt has been made to analyse the positive elements of the poetry or to relate it in its historical context to the development of a socialist literature² in the twentieth century. Undeniably there were certain contradictions in Arno Holz's position at the time of writing and inevitably these were reflected in the poetry. But if, as regards Holz's contemporaries, we assent to the basic differentiation between those who were engaged in what was effectively no more than pseudo-protest and those whose avowed aim was direct political action,³ then we must agree with Jost Hermand's assertion that Holz - or, at any rate, the Holz of Buch der Zeit - is to be regarded as one of the relatively few writers whom one can properly categorise as being a genuine political activist.⁴ This much is apparent from Holz's

contributions to Moderne Dichter-Charaktere,⁵ an anthology which, both through the substance of the poems themselves as well as through the prefaces written by Conradi and Henckell, sought to expound the new literary credo of the Naturalist movement. The following year saw the first publication of Buch der Zeit. Lieder eines Modernen with which Holz hoped to develop the literary and political impact of Moderne Dichter-Charaktere.

The work's main concern is conveyed by its title and expressed, in what is effectively a programmatic statement, by the introductory poem, "Zum Eingang". Holz bemoans the purely aesthetic preoccupations of contemporary poetry, regrets its lack of relevance to the modern world and fears that in his present form the poet will quickly become an anachronism. The writer, therefore, must discard obsolete classical themes and confront modern reality in all its forms as the subject matter of his poetry:

Nein, mitten nur im Volksgewühl,
beim Ausblick auf die grossen Städte,
beim Klang der Telegraphendrähte
ergiesst ins Wort sich mein Gefühl

Denn süß klingt mir die Melodie
aus diesen zukunftsschwangern Tönen;
die Hammer senken sich und dröhnen:⁶
Schau her, auch dies ist Poesie!

To what extent modernity influences the nature of art is embodied in the reflections expressed by the poet in "Meine Nachbarschaft", for the classics provide him with no solution to the material problems he surveys from his garret. Moreover, philosophy cannot explain why wealth and poverty exist side by side and the poet's despair at his felt helplessness thus informs his verse almost willy-nilly:

Was half mir nun mein "Stückchen Philosoph"? (...)

Die Armut bittet um ein Stückchen Brot,
doch herzlos lässt der Reichtum sie verhungern; (...)
O Gott, warum dies alles, o warum?
Wie Zentnerlast drückt mich die Frage nieder!
In meinen Reimen geht sie heimlich um
und ächzt und stöhnt durch meine armen Lieder⁷

In the poem, "Die deutschen Denker an die deutschen Dichter", Holz has moved from the level of this simple experience to a denigration of those poets who either fail or refuse to come to terms with the immediate reality, "denn was ihr singt, ist eitel / und was ihr sagt, ist nichts."⁸ The mood of the time, he argues, is one of strife and conflict and no amount of poetry extolling the beauty and tranquillity of peace can disguise the fact. Moreover, this is no parochial conflict but the very struggle for existence, involving the whole of mankind, and the solution does not lie with a passive belief in ostensibly eternal concepts such as truth, hope and faith. Not words alone but only the positive action that words might inspire can help alleviate the misery and iniquity of the present and establish a real and enduring peace. For Holz this is clearly the supreme task facing the poet and only when he has acknowledged this, can he feel justified in his activity:

Und kehrt der Friede wieder
dereinst nach Kampf und Streit,
dann singt: Das Lied der Lieder,
das ist das Lied der Zeit! ⁹

Holz was well aware, however, that such a view of art was anathema to the majority of his contemporaries and in the poem, "Tagtäglich", he anticipates the strictures of his critics. They will, he knows, attempt to divert him from his concern with social and political matters, arguing that such a subservience of art to politics can only be to the detriment of poetry and, in any case, dismissing his work as merely reviving the hapless idealism of 1848. The true purpose of art, they will say, should

be to elevate and to appeal to man's virtues, whereas the sole effect of the poetry Holz composes is to incite hatred. Holz, however, remains intransigent for although he knows that it would be financially more rewarding to follow their advice, he adds caustically that he lacks the talent to become such a "schwarzweissroten Hofpoeten".¹⁰ To prostitute his art in this way would be to sacrifice his integrity and instead he offers the simple message:

Die Welt, die sich um Liebe dreht,
weiss auch das Hungertuch zu hassen.¹¹

The contrast between the traditional conception of poetry and the new one Holz proposes is further illuminated by the juxtaposition of two poems of considerable length to be found in the section of the work entitled "Grossstadt". In "Phantasmus" the poet sits alone in his garret, seeking the creative inspiration that is rendered increasingly elusive both by his own impoverished circumstances and by the misery that is everywhere evident in the locality. His sole release is the poet's imagination, but the illusions fostered there are shattered by the harsh reality that attends each day-break. Misery, temporarily concealed by the darkness, is once again revealed:

die Nacht verrinnt und seufzend tut nun
das Elend seine Augen auf!¹²

His calling he still identifies as the furtherance of beauty and yet he cannot remain impervious to those whose existence is debased by penury, a fate which he can see little chance of improving:

O sprich, wie lang noch soll es dauern,
das alte Reich der Barbarei?
Noch stützen tausend dunkle Mauern
die feste Burg der Tyrannei.¹³

Not even his poetry can offer any real solace, for communication between

men has all but been eliminated by the dehumanising effect of a life that has reduced man to the level of a machine:

Denn auch der Mensch wird zur Maschine,
wenn er mit hungerbleicher Miene
das alte Tretrad schwingt.¹⁴

The sole response to his predicament is one of despondency and resignation. Phantasmus is clearly not a man of his time, "mein Reich ist nicht von dieser Welt", but "ein Träumer, ein verlornen Sohn"¹⁵ and ultimately all he demands of fate is one further night of life in the service of his art. His tragedy resides in the fact that his laudable determination to preserve those values he holds dear leaves him unable to adapt a traditional but, perhaps, now outmoded view of life to suit the exigencies of the present.

The poem, "Ecce Homo", offers an alternative to the response of "Phantasmus", for here the poet is shown as a man of action, who combines his artistic talents with a practical involvement in politics. He utilises his intellectual powers as the editor of a party newspaper and in his role as member of parliament. In this account of the poet's development it is the emergence of a political awareness which constitutes its focal point. Obligated to work in the heat and dirt of the compositing room of a local newspaper, he quickly comes to recognise the injustice of his own position as one common to millions of others: "es war sein eigenes Los, / das Los von Millionen"¹⁶ Thus, he uses the newspaper as the organ of the masses, channelling his revolutionary passion into converting the people through the power of his words and uniting them under the banner of "Die Freiheit und das Recht." Faced with the hostility of the propertied classes, he nevertheless remains secure in the knowledge that no harm can befall him, so long as he continues to represent the masses and does not consider himself superior to them. Indeed, this image of the poet as a man of the

people is reinforced throughout the poem and yet his personal vision is no modest one, but prescribes radical social change:

Ich will ins Morgenrot
der nahen Zukunft sehn,
und euer Schrei nach Brot
wird in Erfüllung gehn.
Der Knechtschaft Dornesträuch,
mein Schwert soll es zerkrachen,
ich will aus Sklaven euch
zu freien Menschen machen!

Ich stosse von dem Thron
das Wörtchen 'mein und dein',
das brave Volk wird schon
auf seinem Posten sein.
Drum tanzt nur! Der Vulkan
wird bald in Feuer kreissen,
dann wird es Zahn um Zahn
und Aug um Auge heissen!¹⁷

These two poems are of further significance in that they probably reflect what was at one time Holz's own predicament. Undoubtedly the experience described in "Phantasmus" was one familiar to Holz himself and yet his response to it was not one of despair, but that of the resilience and commitment exemplified in "Ecce Homo". He states his position quite unequivocally in the poem, "Selbstporträt", with the words "Ich bin nur ein Tendenzpoet!"¹⁸ and although certain critics insist that in Buch der Zeit Holz was only practising social criticism, Jost Hermand is surely correct in defining the underlying intention as, in part at least, a propagandist one.¹⁹ Certainly, at this time, Holz adhered to a radical socialism which, as a letter explaining his later rejection of this political position implies, viewed as essential and inevitable the idea of revolution:

Seit ich aber diese (i.e. Social Democracy, R.A.B.) und namentlich auch einige ihrer Vertreter näher kennengelernt habe, ist meine Begeisterung, meine kritiklose Begeisterung, für den 'Zukunftsstaat' usw. ziemlich erkältet. Ich habe einsehen gelernt, dass die Weltgeschichte, so sehr sie uns auch oft-scheinbar! - vom Gegenteil zu überzeugen versucht, keine Sprünge liebt.²⁰

Certainly, in the poems themselves the spirit of revolution is everywhere

most manifest and most assuredly it is this aspect of Holz's poetry, and not just the acerbity of his social criticism, which won for Buch der Zeit the lasting admiration of the contemporary Marxist critic, Franz Mehring. Thus, for example, "Die deutschen Denker an die deutschen Dichter" concludes in its last three stanzas with the call to revolution, unambiguously heralded by the words "Doch nun genug der Schande, / auf, auf! und greift zur Wehr",²¹ as the only way to solve that most basic of struggles, "der Kampf ums Brot".²² Thus, a predominant adjective is that of "rot", on the one hand, suggesting blood and violence and, on the other, describing the revolutionary flag, "das rote Banner",²³ as in "An unser Volk!" The poem, "An die 'obern Zehntausend'", continues this mood of defiance, expressing a plea for solidarity in order to prepare for the violence that must accompany the end of an era. This notion of inevitability is reiterated in "Noch eins!", for the age of the bourgeoisie, it proclaims, is past and "unser Jahrhundert ist das Jahrhundert der Revolution",²⁴ even if that class itself is unaware of the changes taking place:

Ihr aber tut, als wäre die Welt
noch die Welt, die sie ehemals war; (...)
und keiner merkt wie im Freiheitsbaum
schon die Knospen gesprungen sind!²⁵

In these circumstances the masses must intervene in the process of historical change and thus the poem ends on the familiar note of the call to action:

Dann ruft das Volk: Vermaledeit!
He, Pulver her und Blei!
Die Porzellan- und Reifrockzeit
ist Gott sei Dank vorbei!²⁶

This revolutionary aspect of the poetry is reflected in the extent to which the activist ideal supersedes all others. Indeed, some poems actually point to the underlying deception of certain accepted ideals. One example

is "Das Volk an die Fürsten", which argues that the people have served the nobility for too long, believing themselves instead to have been pursuing the cause of freedom. Similarly, in "Essetai Hemar!" we find reiterated the idea that traditional ideals may merely foster illusions which serve to make the present more tolerable:

O Glaube, Liebe, Hoffnung, heilige Dreiheit,
Wir dienen dir, und du belohnst uns nie,
denn auch noch heut ist unsere deutsche Freiheit
nur eine schwarzrotgoldene Phantasie!²⁷

That is not to say, however, that a belief in ideals should merely give way to unbridled pessimism and resignation for, as Holz declares in "Zum Eingang", "sinnlos ist kein Traumgesicht."²⁸ Man must have an ideal to strive for, but ideals can only have a genuinely dynamic quality, when they are defined by those whose interests they serve.

One idea, that, for Holz, does not fall into that category is nationalism. This theme occurs infrequently in Buch der Zeit, but it is undeniable, however, that it does contain certain poems which, in this connection, appear problematical. One such poem is "Zum zweiten September" with its generally chauvinistic attitude to other nations and its uncritical reference to "schwarzweissrot". It has been Holz's misfortune that subsequent critics have seized on elements such as these as a vehicle for their own particular preconceptions. In an article Hermann Ploetz, for example, published in 1934, these verses are used in order to appropriate Holz for the cause of National Socialism, the author adding disingenuously that Holz's patriotism had not been officially recognised because "er galt zu sehr als Sozialist, um rechtzeitig beliebt zu sein, denn die Summe von Nationalismus und Sozialismus kannte man noch nicht."²⁹ Significantly, however, Ploetz refrains from mentioning the poem immediately preceding "Zum zweiten September", in which Holz pays rich tribute to France and contrasts the

universality of the struggle for freedom there with the parochial and narrowly chauvinist nature of German patriotism:

Doch ihr... verhöhnt mich immer nur,
ihr biedern Knopflochpatrioten;
ich weiss, ihr schwärmt nur für Dressur,
für Kalbsfilet und Schweinepoten.
Ihr sammelt Lumpen, sammelt Geld
und träumt von längst verschollnen Tagen;
was kûmmerts euch, wenn durch die Welt
der Zukunft Nachtigallen schlagen?
Ich aber rufe: Vive la France!
Honny soit, qui mal y pense!³⁰

Equally typical is Alfred Klein's assessment of Holz, which appears in his contribution to Literatur der Arbeiterklasse under the title "Zur Entwicklung der sozialistischen Literatur in Deutschland 1918-33":

Wenn man weiss, dass Arno Holz nicht nur der Verfasser des Buch der Zeit ist, sondern auch an einem Gedichtbuch mit dem Titel Deutsche Weisen mitgearbeitet hat, an einem Buche, das durchaus in der Nähe eines extremen deutschen Nationalismus steht, und wenn man ausserdem weiss, dass sich Arno Holz genau in dem Augenblick, wo sein Rebellentum auf dem Höhepunkt angekommen ist, von der Sozialdemokratie und von der Arbeiterklasse abwendet, so kann nicht so sehr überraschen, dass er im ersten Weltkrieg mit nationalistischen Gedichten hervortritt.³¹

The questions posed by the latter part of this statement, relating to Holz's withdrawal from Social Democracy, will be considered later, but suffice it to say that they are more complex than Klein's view would suggest. Similarly, the accusations concerning the patriotic flavour of Deutsche Weisen³² and inferring a chauvinist consciousness on Holz's part are thrown into doubt not only by the majority of the poems contained in Buch der Zeit but also by general statements made by Holz at the time. Even in 1884, as a letter of that year makes clear, Holz was disclaiming all responsibility for this particular aspect of his earlier work: "Die allenfalls ein wenig nach der verpönten "Tendenz" schmeckenden patriotischen Lieder usw. gehören dem Gedanken nach sämtlich Jerschke an und haben mir nur die Flüssigkeit ihrer äusseren Form zu danken;..."³³ Moreover, a

precise analysis of the genesis of Buch der Zeit reveals that the poems which appear somewhat ambivalent in the light of Holz's general attitude towards patriotism, were not in fact added until later. The poem in question, "Zum zweiten September", for example, did not appear until the edition of 1892. On the evidence of such poems alone - and Klein's reference to Holz's nationalist poetry, supposedly written during the First World War, remains a mystery - it would be difficult to associate the Holz of Buch der Zeit with the cause of ultra-nationalism.

Yet another indication of Holz's low regard for Wilhelmenian nationalism is to be found in his antipathy to the monarchy. That Holz remained irrevocably opposed to what he evidently identified as an inherently authoritarian institution can be seen from a variety of statements made between 1885 and 1929, the year of his death. In the letter of 1885, for example, in which he seeks to redefine his position vis-à-vis socialism, he nevertheless reasserts his allegiance to the principle of the democratic republic:

Aber eins bin ich geblieben, was ich war und was ich immer sein werde: Antimonarchist! Die Republik ist für mich die einzige ideale Staatsform und wenngleich ich auch das eingesehen habe: dass unser und wahrscheinlich auch die andern heutigen Völker für die wahre, ideale Republik noch lange nicht reif sind, so glaube ich doch, dass es für jeden rechtlichen Menschen mehr als Pflicht ist, für den unendlichen Sieg dieser Ideen, alles zu tun, was in seiner Macht steht.³⁴

This attitude is reflected in many of the poems in Buch der Zeit where the rejection of the monarchy is unequivocal and is supplemented by the poet's prophecy that its power will be swept aside by the age of revolution.

Holz's hostility to the monarchical state is not unrelated to his rejection of the prevailing religious values. For although, in assessing Holz's overall position, it is necessary to differentiate between religion as a metaphysics and the Church, its objectification, there is little

doubt that Holz was extremely critical of the supportive function that institutionalised religion fulfilled in Wilhelminian Germany. In the "Phantasmus" poem he refers at one point to the protective walls that surround "die feste Burg der Tyrannei" and these he names as "Kasernen, Kirchen und Kanonen."³⁵ This is the poetical representation of a view which Holz formulated in a letter as "Von der politischen zur religiösen Frage ist es nur ein Schritt."³⁶ That is to say, the state and the Church are conceived of as an ideological entity, a view which was by no means the sole prerogative of a radical socialist perspective as is evidenced by Ernst Troeltsch's essay "Die Religion im deutschen Staate", in which he discusses the interpenetration of religious and political ideas:

Die beiden konfessionellen Parteien (The Centre Party and the Conservatives, R.A.B.) sind Kräfte der Autorität, des realen Machtsinnes, dem dynastischen Monarchismus, dem militärischen Gehorsamgeiste und der metaphysischen Verklärung des Beamtentums innerlich verwandt. Sie sind es gerade im Zusammenhang mit ihren religiösen Ideen. So ist es natürlich, dass der von Bismarck geschaffene Staat heute auf sie in erster Linie sich stützt.³⁷

Underpinning Holz's attitude to institutionalised religion in Buch der Zeit is his distaste for the disjunction between Christian doctrine and the action that all too often has been justified in Christianity's name. For those who question whether such a disjunction exists, Holz offers the following advice:

Und wagt sich frömmelnd pfäffische Sophistik
an die Behauptung, dass mein Vorwurf hinkt,
dann schlägt nur nach die grause Blutstatistik,
die wie ein Schandpfehl wüst zum Himmel stinkt!³⁸

Similarly, the satirical poem, "Religionsphilosophie", attacks the utilitarian character which religion can assume as justification for a materialistic, predatory way of life. The poem is in the form of a prayer, but this suppliant's belief in God extends only as far as the fulfillment of his material needs:

Doch wenn du filzig bist,
dann dank ich für die Kur;
dann werde ich Atheist
und wähle bebel'sch nur!
Dann mag Altar und Thron
nur dreist zusammenbrechen,
dann werd ich deinen Lohn
in Gold und Blut dir blechen!³⁹

Although Holz is at his most caustic when berating Catholicism - the Pope is "Der alte Vizegott im Vatikan", his autocracy defended by "Sankt Peters kahlgeschorne Schmutzkohorte"⁴⁰ - he exempts no institutionalised religion from attack, for organised Christianity as a whole is "der grösste Schwindel dieser Weltgeschichte",⁴¹ whose hypocrisy does not go unnoticed by the underprivileged masses:

Doch wer wird heute noch die Hände falten
wer ballt sie lieber nicht zur grimmen Faust,
Wer wird zum Rosenkranz Gebete plappern
wenn er verhungert hinterm Eckstein hockt,
wenn ihm vor Winterfrost die Zähne klappern
wenn ihm das Blut in allen Adern stockt.⁴²

However, that Holz's opposition to the Church did not extend to an atheistic rejection of religion as such can be seen from Holz's letters of the time and the following passage probably defines most accurately his overall position:

Aber gerade weil ich so viel "Religion", so viel wahres Christentum in mir verspüre, bin ich gegen unsere kirchliche Luderpfaffenwirtschaft! Ich verwerfe jegliches Dogma! Zwischen mich und mein Gefühl soll sich nichts, aber auch nichts drängen! Das wäre wahrhaftig das Letzte, worin ich fremde Einmischung dulden würde. Ich bin also aus Religion gegen die Religion! D.h. gegen die Religion als Form!⁴³
(my italics)

When, however, he adds that as yet he has not arrived at a "positive(n) Weltanschauung" then this illuminates the ambivalence that informs some of the poetry. For, on the one hand, it would seem that in certain poems Holz has defused Christianity of a metaphysics to leave only a humanist religion of love, as exemplified in his de-mythologisation of Christ: "Für mich ist jener Rabbi Jesus Christ nichts weiter, als - der erste Sozialist."⁴⁴

Similarly, other poems suggest that religion, the realm of faith, is increasingly being diminished by science, the realm of knowledge:

Schaut hin, schon hats an den Nagel gehängt
Purpur und Hermelin
und sitzt am Studiertisch tief versenkt
in die heilige Schrift des Darwin.
Ja, die biblische Spottgeburt aus Lehm
besann sich auf ihre Kraft,
und die Wahrheit entschleiert ihr Weltsystem
vor der Königin der Wissenschaft!⁴⁵

On the other hand, certain poems clearly affirm the validity and accessibility of religious experience, while another letter of 1885 conveys an almost pantheistic conception of the world, in categories, moreover, that were to remain central to Holz's thought for the following forty-five years:

"Gott" ist die All-Einheit. Die Natur ist das Medium, durch welches sie uns zum Bewusstsein kommt. Die All-Einheit erfassen, packen und in ein grosses Wort drängen, ist Sache des Dichters. Um seine Mission erfüllen zu können, muss er sich also an die "Natur" halten. Die Natur ist demnach faktisch die p.p. All-Einheit für ihn. Der Natur gerecht werden, der Schöpfung, dem Schöpfer. Wir haben also bisher glücklich gefunden, dass es nicht drei (!) ewige Grundlagen der Poesie gibt, sondern nur eine: die Natur! Und ist das Menschenleben, das Völkerleben kein Stück Natur? ⁴⁶

This apparent wavering between the poles of atheism and pantheism is just one of the inconsistencies manifested in Buch der Zeit. For although, for the purposes of contextualising Holz's early poetry, the attempt has been made here to distil from the work a coherent and seemingly unitary philosophy, it must be conceded that, quite apart from wholly irrelevant sections concerned with literary trivia, there are certain poems which quite clearly contradict any such viewpoint. The poem, "Erkenne dich selbst", illustrates this ambivalence. While the prevailing tone of the work has demanded that art be revolutionised in order to meet the demands of the time, this poem evinces a degree of pessimism as to the overall usefulness of art as such. Similarly, the poet in "Rückblick" reaches the conclusion, not that aesthetic precepts need to be redefined, but that all poetry must

necessarily be a self-deception which can serve no useful purpose. This mood of resignation even impinges on the writer's political prognostications, for whereas the unmistakable message of the "Vivos voco!" section is that the people have it within their power to change their own reality and create a more humane society, this, the most aggressively optimistic of all the sections in the book, closes nevertheless not with the familiar call to action but on a discordant note of defeatism:

Die Zeit ist morsch wie ein Totenbein,⁴⁷
So ist es gewesen, und so wirds sein.

Similarly, the poet's professed solidarity with the oppressed masses suddenly counts for nothing in "Ein für allemal" as the idealisation of the free individual reasserts itself:

doch zehnmal lieber schwarzweissrot
als mit dem Mob fraternisieren!⁴⁸

The poet who expresses himself here, is one who not only rejects the dictatorship of the few but who also fears the rule of the majority with its restrictive effect on individuality. This statement was, of course, prophetic in that Holz was shortly to be one of the first among the writers of the Naturalist movement to sever his allegiance to the Social Democrats, a decision which has undoubtedly played no small part in the subsequent summary dismissal of Buch der Zeit by certain critics. Undeniable though the imperfections and contradictions of Buch der Zeit are, such an unqualified rejection nevertheless constitutes an over-simplification, which does scant justice to the complexities of the situation that faced those intellectuals who attempted to unite their literary aims with the cause of socialism.

The superficial view of the relationship between Naturalism and socialism would tend to see the period of collaboration in two distinct phases, the 1880s representing a seemingly unproblematical and productive

harmony only to be followed by the visceral antagonisms and mutual disillusionment of the 1890s. What such a view disregards, however, is the fact that the tensions and conflicts which were ultimately responsible for the dissolution of the alliance, did not merely surface in the 1890s but were present all along. That is to say, they were temporarily concealed by a conjuncture of circumstances peculiar to the 1880s. Of central importance in this respect was the anti-socialist legislation introduced by Bismarck in 1878, the effect of which was to impose on the Social Democrat Party a homogeneity and unity of purpose that it did not in reality possess. Singled out in this manner as a party regarded as hostile to the national interest, its survival was thus contingent upon an appearance of solidarity and as a consequence all overt controversy, whether of a political, ideological or cultural nature, was precluded in the interest of presenting a united front. Furthermore, as these laws effectively prohibited direct political activity, the energies of the working class and the party's other membership came more and more to be channelled into organisations of an essentially cultural nature, the most immediate result of which being the foundation of the "Volksbühnen". Thus, the image arose of middle-class intellectuals and working-class activists united by common aims and strategy. In truth, however, as both Georg Fülberth and Herbert Scherer have adequately documented,⁴⁹ this was always a somewhat insecure and precarious relationship and, indeed, the case of Arno Holz himself provides an index for the latency of the conflict which was to emerge so openly at the beginning of the 1890s.

The antinomy that lay at the heart of this conflict was the problem of reconciling the general individualism of the intellectuals with the collectivist tenets of Marxism, which, at that time, still underpinned the political perspective of the S P D. Typical of the attempts to effect this

reconciliation was Heinrich Hart's essay of 1890, "Die Moderne", which contained the following passage:

Nur scheinbar zielt der Sozialismus auf Uniformierung, auf eine noch drückendere Einzwängung in ein Staatsganzes hin. Sein Zweck ist es, das Individuum von der Sorge um das tägliche Brot zu entlasten, ihm seinen Lebensunterhalt unbedingt zu sichern, durch eine gleichmässige und gerechte Verteilung von Arbeit und Arbeitsertrag, die materielle Arbeit selbst aber zu erleichtern und zu vermindern. Auf diese Weise kann es erreicht werden, dass der Mensch Zeit und Kraft gewinnt, sich in höherem Masse als heute der Ausbildung alles dessen zu widmen, was ihn wahrhaft erst zum Menschen macht.⁵⁰

Underlying this argument is the - for Heinrich Hart - fundamental but ill-defined idea of "Mensch sein", a theme which, it is true, has in one form or another dominated literature, both before and since Naturalism, but which, in itself, is sufficiently abstract as to be virtually meaningless in political terms. That precisely this concept should occupy such a predominant position in his political thought is symptomatic of the extent to which Hart's individualistic idealism outweighed any pretensions to historical materialism. It is, however, also symptomatic of the general dilemma confronting the intellectual at this time⁵¹ and it is surely this dilemma above all to which can be attributed the inconsistencies in Holz's writing, namely: the vacillation between sympathy and revulsion for the oppressed masses, the unresolved ambivalence towards religion, the professing of a deterministic credo and yet the quasi-metaphysical conception of man as a social being. Holz himself expressed his basic predicament at the end of Buch der Zeit:

Zwar mein Kopf hat sich schon längst
radikal emanzipiert;
doch in meinem Herzen blühen noch
alle Blumen der Romantik!⁵²

That is to say, Holz experienced this dilemma but was unable to resolve it. It is not, however, peculiar to him - rather, one could argue, he merely recognised its irreconcilability earlier than some of his fellow

intellectuals - for, as Franz Servaes formulated it, it was clearly felt to be the dilemma of Holz's generation as a whole:

sich selbst zu finden, ohne in die Einsamkeit zu flüchten - sich mit anderen zu vereinigen, ohne sich selbst zu verlieren: das ist das Problem, das jeder Schaffende zunächst bei sich zu lösen hat, und das im grossen Ganzen dann noch einmal gelöst werden muss - 'Genosse und Einsiedler sein', wie Bruno Wille sagt.⁵³

However, an explanation of the rift between the two groups which stopped short at a unilateral apportionment of blame - such as Klaus Scherpe's dogmatic assertion that "der bürgerliche Literat setzt moralisches Engagement an die Stelle politischer Agitation"⁵⁴ - would remain but a partial one.⁵⁵ For, in truth, the fact that a complete integration of the intellectuals into the party structure was never properly effected was due as much to the open hostility of party members as to the intellectuals' undisguised individualist tendencies. These tensions finally erupted in the year 1891 in the form of a quarrel, which was to seal once and for all the polarisation within the party, between the older national party leaders and a group known as "Die Jungen" - a group which contained, in addition to such figures as Bruno Wille and Paul Ernst, a number of intellectuals associated with the Naturalist writers. August Bebel, the leader of the Social Democrat Party, was himself particularly active in the ensuing debate, the outcome of which was the withdrawal of Wille and his adherents from the S P D and the formation of the "Verein Unabhängiger Sozialisten".⁵⁶ Typical of the almost anti-intellectual stance of the party at this time was the debate in the following year concerning the organisation of the "Freie Volksbühnen" (of which Wille was chairman.) Osborne quotes Paul Dupont as demanding that a greater control be exercised on the committee by workers and, even more significantly, as questioning the need for any intellectuals at all.⁵⁷ Wille was succeeded as chairman of the "Volksbühne" by Franz Mehring, who was explicitly critical of

Naturalism as such and favoured, instead, productions of classical dramatists such as Lessing and Schiller. Given this particular climate, therefore, it is not especially difficult to understand how certain intellectuals might have come to the view that ultimately the alliance with socialism and its disciples was counter-productive as far as their artistic development was concerned.

Mehring, in fact, is a significant figure in the context of this debate in that he is fairly representative of the negative attitude amongst socialist critics - both then and since⁵⁸ - towards Naturalism. In general, Mehring held to what, from the present position of Marxist aesthetics,⁵⁹ could be considered a static and undialectical conception of the relationship of ideas to social reality, believing that the emancipatory effect of any art would necessarily be minimal while ever it operated within a bourgeois culture. This is the essence of the argument he espoused in his essay, "Kunst und Proletariat", and to which he adhered in all his critical writings: "Die Kunst darf ihre Wiedergeburt erst von dem ökonomisch-politischen Siege des Proletariats erwarten; in seinen Befreiungskampf vermag sie nicht tief einzugreifen."⁶⁰ Mehring's appraisal of Naturalism was, consequently, particularly negative, for although he conceded that the Naturalists were, indeed, extremely critical of certain aspects of bourgeois society, he insisted that their work reflected only the decline of a disintegrating system and that their positivism and exclusive preoccupation with their immediate reality denied them any possibility of mediating artistically the new forms of social organisation that could develop out of that existing reality:

(Dagegen) ist die moderne Kunst tief pessimistisch. Sie kennt keinen Ausweg aus dem Elend, das sie mit Vorliebe schildert. Sie entspringt aus bürgerlichen Kreisen und ist der Reflex eines unaufhaltsamen Verfalls, der sich in ihr getreu genug widerspiegelt.

Sie ist in ihrer Weise... ehrlich und wahr;... aber sie ist durchaus pessimistisch in dem Sinne, dass sie im Elend der Gegenwart nur das Elend sieht.⁶¹

This was interpreted at the time as dismissing all art of bourgeois provenance and, with some justification, Mehring was accused by Paul Ernst of elevating class-consciousness to the status of being the sole aesthetic category and thereby neglecting any consideration of the social and psychological situation of the individual writer and its mediation in the work of art.⁶² Fülberth cites one example of this anti-bourgeois attitude in the campaign of 1908 against Richard Dehmel, which was instigated by Mehring in his capacity as editor of Die Neue Zeit. In it he attempted to defuse Dehmel's poetry of any positive elements, categorising it pejoratively as "soziale bürgerliche Dichtung", and to refute those members of the S P D who saw in it an expression of solidarity with the oppressed.⁶³ The relationship of the Naturalists to organised socialism was thus an extremely complex one, of which a cursory analysis such as this only begins to scratch the surface, but there is nevertheless considerable justification for sharing Roy Pascal's view that the waning of the radicalism of Holz and his contemporaries was at least in part due to this sectarian and dogmatic rigidity of the Marxists.⁶⁴

This acquires further significance when one considers that contemporary socialist criticism has, if anything, been even more hostile and that since the Naturalist period there has been virtually no attempt to re-evaluate Holz's early work, other than in a purely negative light. Typical of this trend is the essay by Klein, quoted above, in which he pursues the quite common and undifferentiating practice of developing a formula vis-à-vis Naturalism and then applying it without modification to any writer belonging to the period, as in this case with Holz. Klein's general thesis runs as

follows:

Die starke nationale Komponente, die im Naturalismus mit sozialen Fragestellungen vermischt wird, war von vornherein der Gefahr ausgesetzt, in eine nationalistische Tendenz umzuschlagen, weil es viele Schriftsteller nicht vermochten, ihre Weltanschauung von reaktionären Einflüssen frei zu machen und den Traum von einer grossen deutschen Zukunft mit den Zielen der Arbeiterklasse zu verknüpfen.⁶⁵

As a general statement this is not without a certain validity, relating as it does to the development out of Naturalism of Neo-romanticism and "Heimatkunst"; but when Klein attempts to project it on to Holz as being the supreme example of this assertion, he merely achieves a lack of differentiation that borders on caricature. As argued earlier, there is little evidence in Holz's work to substantiate such a claim. Even when he uses a word such as "Volk" (which appears frequently in Buch der Zeit), it is clear that he does so in the sense of the underprivileged masses rather than identifying with the chauvinistic connotations which the word acquired in the romantic-conservative ideology of writers such as Lagarde. Furthermore, it is significant that Holz did not contribute to the general euphoria which surrounded Germany's participation in the First World War and which could evoke from a writer such as, say, Heinrich Lersch - whom socialist critics have traditionally regarded in a much more favourable light than Holz - the nationalistic sentiments which informs much of his war poetry.

On the other hand, an accusation of a quite different order is made by Armin Kesser in his review of "Arbeiterlyrik":

Das Anwachsen der sozialdemokratischen Partei, die Verteidigung des liberalen Kunstinteresses gegen die Wilhelminische Aera... haben den Sozialismus eines Arno Holz hervorgebracht... Man formulierte nicht die Interessen der revolutionären Klasse, sondern man benutzte den "Arbeitsmann", den deklamatorischen "Proletar" (Holz) für die Formulierung der eigenen Interessen, die eng und kunstzünftlerisch genug waren.⁶⁶

What Holz is charged with here is apparently a form of literary opportunism, of jumping, as it were, on to the "proletarian bandwagon", a claim which,

given the particular socio-historical circumstances in which Holz was writing, is only worth consideration in so far as it illustrates the extent to which the attempt is sometimes made to discredit bourgeois writers. Whatever the merits and demerits of Mehring's argumentation, his critique did at least emanate from a consistent position, it never descended to the level of crude and unsubstantiated denigration.

In fact, just how little doubt there was at the time in the genuineness of Holz's socialism can be judged from the reaction Buch der Zeit evoked upon publication. Indeed, Mehring himself, for all his strictures, expressly exempted Buch der Zeit from criticism, adjudging it to be one of the very few examples of revolutionary art that Naturalism produced.⁶⁷ Nor did Mehring's admiration for the work contradict his general view for in his opinion Buch der Zeit was almost unique in the way that it transcended what he felt to be the intrinsic pessimism of Naturalism. Clearly, what attracted him to Holz's poetry was "the call to action" so evident in Buch der Zeit which, for Mehring, symbolised "das siegfreudige Bekenntnis zum Banner einer neuen Welt."⁶⁸ The poetry positively exuded what, for him, was otherwise totally lacking in the literature of other Naturalist writers, namely, "jenes freudige Kampfelement, das dem klassenbewussten Proletariat das Leben des Lebens ist."⁶⁹ The reasons for Mehring's positive evaluation of Buch der Zeit are further illuminated when related to one of the few other works of the Naturalist period that aroused his enthusiasm, Hauptmann's Die Weber. When, in his remarks on the play,⁷⁰ Mehring refers to the weavers' song as forming "das Rückgrat des Schauspiels", then the affinity between the two works becomes obvious. In "Das Blutgedicht" the weavers are given a simple but articulate assessment of their real situation which serves to galvanise them into action, and although, as stated earlier, at no time did Mehring ever adhere to the utopian view that art

can by itself induce a change of political consciousness, it is clearly this aspect of the poems in Buch der Zeit that Mehring holds in such high regard.

Of significance also is the fact that even in the twentieth century Holz's poems were felt to be relevant to the purposes of political struggle and continued to be published in various journals such as März and Der Sturm. Similarly, another area where Buch der Zeit has continued to exert an influence, perhaps even more so than in the journal, is the anthology. Along with Dehmel and Henckell Holz's poems were incorporated in a large number of anthologies, which appeared round about the turn of the century and after, and which were clearly aimed at a working-class readership. Typical of this trend were the two volumes, Stimmen der Freiheit of 1899, which has been described as "die reichste Quelle der frühen Arbeiterlyrik",⁷¹ and Von unten auf, which originally appeared in 1911 and was republished in 1928. Another prominent anthology with which writers in the twenties were undoubtedly familiar was Karl Hoppel's Das Erwachen. Revolutionäre Dichtungen, which was first published in 1920 and included such poems by Holz as "Mein Herz schlägt laut", "An unser Volk" and "Das Volk an die Fürsten". Perhaps the most important of all, however, was the anthology, Buch der Freiheit, which was commissioned by the S P D itself and appeared in the party's Vorwärts-Verlag in 1893. Compiled by Henckell it included Holz's poems "Den Franzosenfressern", "Phantasmus" and "Weltgeschichte" alongside the poems of early socialist writers such as Jakob Audorf, Ernst Klaar, Rudolf Lavant and August Geib. It has been revised several times since then and an edition appeared as recently as 1956.⁷²

Of course, just how broad Holz's audience was and precisely what influence he exerted on other writers through these early poems, is merely a matter for speculation. We do have a certain barometer, however, in the

volume compiled by Friedrich Avenarius to commemorate Holz's sixtieth birthday and entitled Arno Holz und sein Werk. Deutsche Stimmen zu seinem 60 Geburtstage. Naturally such a work covers a diversity of political sympathies and the spectrum ranges from Hermann Hesse to Kurt Tucholsky, from Gustav Stresemann to Karl Kautsky. Of significance, however, is the fact that, although by the year of publication (1923) the great body of Holz's work was complete, it is for Buch der Zeit, the earliest major work, that Holz is remembered and admired by a great many of the contributors. Karl Kautsky, for instance, refers primarily to the Holz of Buch der Zeit in his statement:

Arno Holz ist mir sehr sympathisch als Mensch wegen seiner Tapferkeit und Bekenntnisfreudigkeit, wegen seines steten Suchens und Ringens nach Höherem. Ich schätze ihn hoch als Dichter, der nicht nur die Form beherrscht, neue Formen schafft, sondern auch ihnen einen bedeutsamen Inhalt gibt.⁷³

Particularly illuminating is the statement of Konrad Haenisch, who belonged to the radical Marxist wing of the S P D. He recalls how Buch der Zeit was a constant companion for him when he was imprisoned for his socialist activities and he goes on to stress the importance which he considered Buch der Zeit to have for the working-class movement:

Sass ich, was erfreulicherweise immerhin für den sehr viel grösseren Teil meines Redakteurdaseins galt, nicht im Gefängnis, so tat ich mein Möglichstes, um durch Besprechungen in der Presse, durch Rezitationen bei Arbeiterfesten usw. Arno Holz den grossen Massen des deutschen Volks nahe zu bringen.⁷⁴

Statements such as this would surely testify to the relevance of Buch der Zeit to the development of a socialist and working-class literature.

That much subsequent criticism has, however, often sought to diminish or even deny that relevance must be attributed in part to a basic antipathy in Marxist circles to the bourgeois intellectual as such, an antipathy, moreover, which has persisted throughout the twentieth century and which, as this brief discussion has shown, even today informs much of the reception

of such literature. It is, then, perhaps hardly surprising that one of the more sympathetic analyses of Holz's position at this time - and, by extension, that of those writers of Holz's generation who shared his outlook - should, in fact, come from an intellectual who could be said to have been in a similar situation in the Weimar Republic to the one in which Holz found himself in the 1890s. I refer to Alfred Döblin.

Although not without his criticisms of Buch der Zeit - which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter - Döblin wrote of that work in 1930: "Dieser Gedichtband zeigte an: die soziale Gärung in Deutschland, die Arbeiterbewegung ist in das Blickfeld der Literatur getreten."⁷⁵ For Döblin, however, the crucial question was: what was it that stifled the "revolutionary advance" so clearly marked by the work of Holz and other writers of similar persuasion, for, he remarks, "Die Arbeiterbewegung konnte den Naturalismus gebären, aber sie konnte ihn nicht am Leben erhalten."⁷⁶ In small part, Döblin concedes, this was the fault of the writers themselves, in that like Holz, despite their political attachments, they still remained effectively "between the classes", trapped, as Schulz puts it, between the two fronts of the economically powerful bourgeoisie and the organised labour movement.⁷⁷ The solution for Holz Döblin formulates emphatically as "Hinwenden zur breiten Volksmasse!",⁷⁸ predicated on the realisation "dass Literatur etwas anderes ist als ein Ding an sich oder ein Lehrfach der Universität, sondern dass sie Funktion des Volkskörpers ist."⁷⁹ But, Döblin immediately concedes, such a conception of literature, namely, what he terms "eine organisch-funktionelle Beziehung zwischen Volk und Literatur",⁸⁰ simply was not realisable in the historical circumstances in which Holz was then writing and this for reasons which Döblin identifies as the primary cause of the "defeat" suffered by Holz and his contemporaries: "das starke deutsche Bürgertum konnte zwar die Geburt des Naturalismus nicht

verhindern, aber es vermochte ihn langsam zu erdrücken. . .weil es das Bildungsmonopol hat."⁸¹ Döblin, in fact, intends this as a general statement but he could also have made mention of the specific problem that confronted writers such as Holz in the 1880s, namely, that of reaching any sort of public at all. The Anti-Socialist Laws, for example, meant that the Social Democratic press was illegal. What journals existed were of a generally literary nature, such as Die Gesellschaft or Kritische Waffengänge, and apart from Die Neue Zeit the forum for socialist writers was thus extremely limited. The first volumes of Karl Henckell's work, for example, were banned in Germany in accordance with the anti-socialist legislation. Not surprisingly this fate also awaited Buch der Zeit so that Holz could only get it published originally through the Swiss firm of Jacob Schabelitz. Such copies as there were, were circulated in clandestine manner in Germany, but this state of affairs could scarcely be considered a positive stimulus to the young writer such as Holz.

In more general terms, however, what Döblin refers to is the problem which has faced working-class literature from its inception and which even today continues to confront it, namely, the problem of creating its own audience, publication network and means of distribution, in short, of actually reaching the public to which the literature is specifically addressed. Buch der Zeit can thus be seen to stand at the beginning of a whole tradition of working-class literature in Germany, to which it is related not only by its very style and tone but also by the problems which surrounded its development. The lesson that Döblin drew from his analysis of Holz was the bold message, "Der unterbrochene Weg von Arno Holz ist weiterzugehen", but history has shown that the specific solution he proposed, namely, "Verbreiterung der Bildungsbasis durch Beseitigung des Bildungsmonopols"⁸² was no easy one.

(ii) "BUCH DER ZEIT" AND THE TRADITION OF "GROSSSTADTLYRIK"

Buch der Zeit must also be considered in one other respect, namely, in the light of Holz's claim to have been the first writer to give lyrical expression in any sort of consistent manner to the theme of the "Grossstadt."¹ As with so many of Holz's statements this assertion is not without a certain validity but nevertheless needs to be qualified by viewing the work in its proper historical perspective.

In fact, almost a century before Buch der Zeit, William Blake had written poetry which described quite unsparingly the dehumanising effect of existence in the city. In contrast the Romantics, although depicting certain facets of that existence, seemed scarcely aware of encountering a qualitatively new reality, their somewhat limited response to the city being typified by William Wordsworth's famous "London Sonnet" of 1802:

Earth has not anything to show more fair:
This City now doth, like a garment, wear
The beauty of the morning; silent, bare
Ships, towers, domes, theatres and temples lie
Open unto the fields and to sky
All bright and glittering in the smokeless air
Ne'er saw I, never felt, a calm so deep!²

The first poet to develop a more differentiated conception of the city, however, was Baudelaire with the poems of Les Fleurs du Mal and Le Spleen de Paris, which he wrote in the 1850s. Baudelaire was not blind to the Romantic attraction of the metropolis, but nor was he oblivious to the other side of its character as represented, in particular, by the effects on mankind of technology and advanced machanism. In giving expression to modern alienation, with its complementary nostalgia for harmonious experience, Baudelaire - as Walter Benjamin has well shown³ - thus stands, as it were, at the beginning of contemporary European poetry. From this follows Rimbaud's call for modernity, the city poems in his Illuminations and the verse of such writers as Verhaeren and Alexander Blok.

If it is only at this point that German literature, in the form of Holz's Buch der Zeit, has something equatable to offer in the development of this quasi-genre, "Grossstadtlyrik", then for this there are certain clearly definable reasons. Correlatively, those self-same reasons help to explain why for the next forty years the theme of industrialisation in general, and the metropolis in particular, were to dominate literature in Germany as in no other contemporary European culture. Of most significance is the fact that historically the transformation of German society consequent upon industrialisation came at a relatively late point in time. During the second half of the nineteenth century the German population almost doubled, a dramatic increase that was reflected primarily in the growth of the cities. Just how late this process took place in Germany can be illustrated by the fact that whereas even by 1800 London had nearly one million inhabitants - a figure Paris reached by 1850 - it was not until the turn of the century that Berlin could boast a similar population and then the growth was such that by 1910 this number had doubled to two million.⁴ The impact of this process was naturally all the greater for being telescoped in such a manner. Consequently, it was the metropolis that constituted the predominant social and cultural experience of the time for, as Pascal explains, it was there, in the great city, "that the industrial and social forces that were creating a new Germany took the tangible shape of a living area in which they impinged on personal experience in countless ways."⁵ Although in Holz's poems of the "Grossstadt" section the city as such tends to be in the background, rather than the expressedly focal point that the title would imply, nevertheless what the poems do consistently reflect are these multiple levels of existence and experience that are inherent in the very nature of the metropolis.

As would be perhaps expected, the note of protest so prominent in

other parts of Buch der Zeit is also evident. But here the mood is more muted, the tone less abrasive and overtly polemical. Description replaces exhortation and the scenes described are often allowed to speak for themselves without the authorial voice being superimposed. Thus, the simple montage of the first two poems in the cycle, "Ein Bild" and "Ein Anderes", makes it unnecessary for the poet actually to articulate his condemnation of the situation he depicts. The first poem portrays the stately residence of a prominent member of the nobility. An air of mourning prevails as the servants move silently about the corridors so as not to disturb the almost holy aura of the house, a subservience emulated by the house physician who is a frequent visitor. Even in the sick-room the luxury is evident, "düstre Teppichpracht, rötliches Gefflimmer", while the invalid herself lies listening to the music of the fountains outside and satisfies her hunger with "Eis und Himbeer." The final lines reveal the reason for the anxiety, "Die gnädige Frau hat heut-Migräne"⁶. The scene in the second poem is the top floor of a tenement block. In stark contrast there is no grand approach to this residence, just worm-eaten stairs, while within the roof and walls are riddled with holes. Possessions are limited to the bare essentials for survival: a piece of black bread, a water jug, a stool and a work-table. There are no sumptuous curtains, just a board nailed across the window and amid this austerity a young woman lies prone on a bed of straw, not simulating illness but on the verge of death. Here there reigns not the pious calm of the first scene but the tangible silence of her onlooking children, while the husband can only anaesthetise his misery with the palliative of alcohol. The "Armenhilfsarzt" finally arrives only to find the patient already dead. In this image of the "Vorderhaus/Hinterhaus" dichotomy Holz formulated a simple but credible symbol of the social inequalities that the metropolis harboured. In other poems, too, Holz presents

further evocations of the squalor and misery of the penurious, but this is not his exclusive concern, rather it is just one of a multiplicity of images. There is, however, an element in these descriptions that borders on the bathetic and Holz is distinctly more successful when he treats urban phenomena in a more dispassionate vein. Typical of this is Holz's approach to the themes of alcoholism and prostitution.

The drunkard and the prostitute figure in a number of poems but in a matter-of-fact rather than sensationalist manner. Clearly, they are considered to be just as much a part of the city as the factories and the tenement blocks and to omit them would be to present but a partial picture. Consequently, they are not described from the point of view of either condescension or revulsion but reveal a synthesis of empathy and a concern to show reality. Thus, for example, the poem, "Paysage intime", which relates events of a night spent with a prostitute, succeeds in conveying both the vulgarity of the experience and the fact that it is nevertheless an intrinsic part of existence in the metropolis and generally accepted as such. The first stanza sets the scene, the early hours in Berlin. The street light is not bright enough for the man to be able to distinguish the woman's face properly and only when she strikes a match in the brothel corridor does he realise how unattractive she is. It is too late to escape, however, for the door is locked; the process is both inevitable and irrevocable. It is clearly a working-class district for he hears the distant sounds of a bawdy party and on one of the doors he reads the sign "Baltrutsch Knopfarbeiter." On entering the woman's room he is a little surprised to find how cosy it is, with its glowing fire and clean blinds. A couple of broken chairs recall memories of previous none too successful encounters, "Memoiren ohne Worte", and completing his mental inventory of the prostitute's room with the observation "Auch die Marmortoilette fehlte

selbstverständlich nicht"⁷ reveals that despite his apparent lack of enthusiasm he nevertheless makes a habit of such visits. Later when intercourse has duly been mechanically enacted, his only thoughts are that he must get away and to his embarrassment on leaving he bumps into the woman delivering newspapers, who, however, registers no visible response. With his coat collar buttoned up to try and preserve anonymity he emerges into the frost and fog of a winter morning, the final lines succinctly condensing his reaction to the entire experience:

"Brrr!" und vor sich selbst aus Ekel
spie er mitten in die Gosse ⁸

The prostitute in Holz's poetry is an incidental figure, significant above all else for its typicality and thus surely does not emanate from what Jost Hermand designates as a "Dirnenkult, der alles Erotische in das Getriebe der rein physiologischen Vorgänge zerrt".⁹ Nor, on the other hand, is it intended as the symbolic representation of the curse of the metropolis as, for instance, are the prostitutes in Stadler's "Heimkehr", humiliated and degraded figures who drag their bodies "wie eine ekle Last in arme Schenken".¹⁰ This is not to say, however, that Holz remained totally uncritical of an ethos that reduced human beings to sexual objects but, on the other hand, it is too undifferentiated a statement to assert, as Roy Pascal does, that the city was of experiential significance for Holz only in the sense that he could share the revolutionary protest of the deprived.¹¹ Such an assessment would imply a consistency of attitude to the metropolis which is, in fact, not borne out by the poems of Buch der Zeit. In truth, Holz manages to be at once both optimistic and pessimistic in his relationship to the city and if, as Pascal implies, it is the mood of pessimism which ultimately prevails, then it must be added that nevertheless this does not amount to an unqualified and total

rejection of the city as such. That Holz's poetry should paradoxically evince both, on the one hand, a pronounced anti-urbanism and, on the other, a positive embracing of the metropolis as the new and undeniable reality, is not something peculiar to Holz: rather it is, as Fritz Hofmann argues,¹² a feature common to Holz's generation, a paradox that endured well into the twentieth century. Thus, Becher, for instance, can express his close identification with the chaotic and revolutionary challenge of the city in a poem such as "De profundis III", while also being the author of such apparently unequivocal statements as "Hoffentlich gehen alle Städte bald zu Grund. Hier lebe ich... versunken im Anschauen der kommenden Morgenröte."¹³ It is above all in this ambivalence towards the city that Buch der Zeit reveals an affinity with the "Grossstadtlyrik" that developed both in and after Naturalism.

Undeniably, the attitudes of writers to the city were many and various, but in one central respect they were united. For from the unproblematical affirmation of the city evident in Bölsche to the unmistakable revulsion and pessimism of Heym or Rilke, they all recognised the great city as being the decisive and inescapable reality of their time. If for no other reason, then, Buch der Zeit deserves attention for being, along with the anthology Moderne Dichter-Charaktere, the first work to formulate this awareness programmatically. The first four stanzas of "Berliner Frühling", for instance, reiterate the notion that man's concept of beauty has changed as his surroundings have altered: the old concepts of poetry are effete. The language of past poetry is no longer adequate for the depiction of a changed reality and the new muse of poetry resides in a different milieu, "die blaue Blume ist ihr längst verblüht"¹⁴ The poet is a "Kind der Grossstadt und der neuen Zeit" and he must use this experience as his subject matter, for "Auch dies ist Poesie!"¹⁵ Thus, spring in the city is

just as much an object of poetry and beauty as its reflection in nature; it merely manifests itself in forms other than "Vogelsang" and "Vollmond=schein". It announces itself in the form of the south wind which howls around the rooftops only to give way to the sunshine as it breaks through the clouds. Melted snow flows in the street gutters and these and other signs are perceived by all, even the poorest beggar. The women discard their long dresses and the children play noisily in the streets, while in the women's magazines the new spring fashions from Paris appear for the first time. Not for months has the city seen such a hubbub of activity for the spring has made its impression on city life in the form of a medley of sights and sounds. This mosaic character of the city, compounded of myriad disparate elements, is hinted at in many of these poems, but one of the most positive evocations is the poem, "Samstagsidyll". This is essentially a portrait of the city seen from without, for the poet is in the countryside looking down upon the city, perceiving it as an entity. The working-day is drawing to a close and as an example of this healthy vitality he singles out the smith, draped in his protective apron and with sparks flying from the red-hot iron, as he operates the powerful hammer:

Hier wars ein Eisenwagen, dort ein Schiff,
der Schornstein rauchte und der Dampfhahn pfiff,
und alles drehte sich im alten Gleise ¹⁶

Meanwhile dusk has fallen and the city acknowledges this with the mellifluous tones of the city bells. As the poet looks down on the city silhouetted against the sky-line, he is struck by its darkness and uncertainty, its amorphous complexity and power. Every now and then the darkness is punctuated by shafts of light from house windows and the reflection of the moonlight on the metal roofs of the factories. This pleasing visual experience is complemented acoustically by the sounds of a "frommer Nacht=gesang" from the suburbs, its notes carried to the poet's ears by the

warm evening breeze. The poem ends in a vision of complete harmony, the poet in total accord with the surrounding beauty of the city and its poetry which, the poet claims in a final flush of optimism, "... speist die Armen, und (sie) stärkt die Schwachen / sie kann die Erde uns zum Himmel machen."¹⁷ This comforting image is not dissimilar to that evoked by Ernst Stadler in "Dämmerung in der Stadt". From the same perspective as the Holz poem the individual houses appear as ships, collectively forming the great ocean, "Meer", which is the city:

Die Häuser sind im Grau
durch das die ersten Lichter branden
Wie Rümpfe grosser Schiffe
die im Meer die Nachtsignale hissen ¹⁸

Recalling Holz's "frommer Nachtgesang" the sea is calmed with "lindem Schmeichelwort... und der Süsse alter Wiegenlieder" and the final image of the city is that of a "lichtgepflügten Hafen", a place of sanctuary and repose. Indeed, the positive attitude to the city asserts itself sufficiently in Stadler's work for Helmut Uhlig to be able to describe him as a poet "der... in den wachsenden Grossstädten, in den allmählich aufkommenden neuen Lebensformen, das Schöne, das Grosse, das Gewaltige sieht",¹⁹ which again would suggest certain parallels with Holz.

Holz's optimism, however, never reaches the adulatory heights of August Endell, who in his Die Schönheit der grossen Stadt would even extol the privation and physical ills of industrial labour. Much closer to Holz's conception is the anthology, Im steinernen Meer, in the introduction to which the editors Oskar Hübner and Johannes Moegelin quote Holz's "Auch dies ist Poesie"²⁰ to endorse their assertion that nature can no longer serve as the exclusive or even primary inspiration for modern poetry. The anthology includes six of Holz's own poems but his significance would appear to extend beyond his individual contribution, for some of the other

poems appear decidedly derivative. By far the most positive attitude to the city, however, was that adopted by the "Werkleute auf Haus Nyland" as expressed in the poems of Josef Winckler, collected under the title of Eiserne Sonnette and in their programme of 1912, which embraces the following sentiments:

Nicht sentimentales Bedauern erweckt in uns der Rauch der Schlote und der Hochöfen, die menschenverschlingende Grossstadt. . . wir grüssen die tausend Kräfte, die an der Arbeit sind, um unsere Zeit von sich selbst zu erlösen. . . Einer atzenden Verneinung (of the city and technology, R.A.B.) setzen wir unsere entschlossene Bejahung entgegen, unseren unbesieghchen Zukunftsglauben.²¹

The poetry reflects this euphoric tone so that the debilitating effects of mechanisation, squalor and poverty, the concomitants of rapid industrialisation, are in these verses scarcely acknowledged as a valid reality.

For Holz, however, the city was far too complex a phenomenon to allow of such unproblematical affirmation. Indeed, even if there were in Buch der Zeit no explicit condemnation of certain facets of the city, there would still be sufficient evidence of an implicit kind to foster this feeling of ambivalence and to suggest that Holz's admiration for the city was less than absolute. One particularly pertinent example is the way Holz conceives of the relationship of the city and nature. For although, as we have seen, certain poems proclaim that the city has a beauty of its own particular kind, in other poems there is nevertheless a tendency to identify beauty with nature and the countryside. Thus, for example, in "Nachtstück" the poet insists that even in winter, despite the cold and the poverty, the city still possesses a degree of beauty. But when he goes on to delineate that beauty in terms of stars, trees, rivers etc., it is clear that this is still a conventional conception of beauty which in no way necessarily relates to the essence of the metropolis. The poem, "Grossstadtmorgen", portrays this at its most explicit. It shows the poet walking along Friedrichstrasse on his way home in the early hours of the morning and

describes the thoughts that the scene arouses in him. He does not recoil from specifying the vulgarities that Friedrichstrasse has to offer, - the drunks and the whores - but he does so dispassionately and not in a language suffused with revulsion. Nevertheless, the poet is aware that something is on his mind and suddenly the mood changes. Gradually his thoughts wander from the immediate present and in a dream he is transported from the mundane surroundings of Friedrichstrasse to a verdant hill in the countryside. Bathed in sunlight he is galloping on horseback through the fields, consuming voraciously nature's many treasures. But the dream is an ephemeral reality and he is jolted back to the austerity of Friedrichstrasse by the freezing cold and the piteous cry of a beggar selling matches. Elsewhere in Buch der Zeit Holz refers quite frequently to the idea of the city walls and the city gates - in "Berliner Frühling", for instance, we read: "Doch drauss vorm Stadttor rauscht es in den Bäumen"²² - and this would seem to represent both a real and symbolic divide between two worlds, between two different realities. Certainly, it would also appear that whereas nature penetrates into the city, the effects of industrialisation are restricted to within the city boundaries. This is similarly the case in the poems of Im steinernen Meer, for despite the editors' categorical claim that nature is no longer the main source of poetic inspiration, it is nevertheless in nature that beauty would appear to reside.

Stadler occasionally eschews even this minimal differentiation and a poem such as "Kleine Stadt" suggests that city and countryside blend and merge together harmoniously:

Die vielen kleinen Gassen,
die die langgestreckte Hauptstrasse überqueren,
Laufen alle ins Grüne.
Überall fängt Land an.
Überall strömt Himmel ein und Geruch von Bäumen

und der starke Duft der Äcker
Überall erlischt die Stadt
in einer feuchten Herrlichkeit von Wiesen.²³

The emphatic repetition of "überall" suggests that the city is so embedded in nature as almost to preclude the possibility of looking upon it as a separate entity. In contrast, Heym effectively inverts this relationship, for clearly in his poetry it is the city which impinges on the countryside, industry and technology, which encroach upon and eventually suffocate the realm of nature. Typically, therefore, the image of the sea, "Meer", used so positively in Holz and Stadler, assumes negative connotations in Heym's work, for as Heinz Rölleke argues,²⁴ it signifies above all the elimination of any city / countryside dichotomy in that the immeasurability and unrestrainable power of the ocean is for Heym paralleled in the vastness and irresistible growth of the metropolis.

In addition to the city / nature dichotomy, however, there is another factor which would tend to relativise Holz's attitude to the city. That is to say, Holz does not imbue it with one definite character, rather it assumes various guises. Thus, as we have seen already, nature itself, in the form of the seasons, makes a substantial difference to the character of the city. Winter exacerbates its negative aspects, spring and summer emphasise the positive. Holz often makes a similar differentiation between night and day, as can be seen from the "Phantasmus" poem in particular. Here night appears as the comforting guardian against the harshness of reality, for then it is that man can escape from his alienated existence either into the pleasures of the urban night-life or into his own dreams ("die Nacht verrinnt, der Traumgott ruht nun.") As in "Samstagsidyll" it is at night that the city can attain a tranquillity and splendour comparable to that evident in nature, but with the dawn that tranquillity is disturbed.

Life takes its inevitable course once more and misery, temporarily concealed by the darkness, is revealed again ("die Nacht verrinnt und seufzend tut nun / das Elend seine Augen auf".)²⁵ The morning is a curse to the worker for it means toil and hardship until he can again find respite in the night. For other writers, who experienced the city as a more oppressive reality than Holz, the night offers no such refuge. In Engelke's "Die Fabrik" he shows that the industrial city does not recognise nature's laws, night and day are one and the same:

Tag und Nacht: Lärm und Dampf 26
Immer Arbeit, immer Kampf

In fact, if anything, the night is felt to intensify the oppression of the city; it seems lifeless, its inhabitants "erstarrt im Stadtnacht-Schweigen".²⁷ For Heym, too, darkness is a prevailing mood, serving only to underline the inherently apocalyptic nature of the city as typified by the opening of "Stadt der Qual": "Ewige Dunkelheit hängt über mir."²⁸

These various dichotomies - the metropolis and the countryside, the city by day and the city by night - are, as stated, symptomatic in Holz's Buch der Zeit of a basic ambivalence towards the city. Often apparently contradictory viewpoints will be expressed within the same poem. The crucial thing, however, is that this ambivalence both derives from and is compounded by the fact that the city never appears absolutely before the reader but is always mediated through the perspective of the lyrical self. The focal point of the poems is not so much the metropolis itself as the ego depicting what surrounds it.²⁹ The images of the city, therefore, are almost without exception contingent upon the mood of the speaker and his emotional responses. Thus, for instance, the idyllic evocation of life in "Samstagsidyll" is relativised by the fact that here the city is viewed through the eyes of the poet basking in the warmth of an ideal love

relationship, as epitomised by the closing line "nicht wahr mein Herz, das Leben ist doch schön",³⁰ a remark which only tangentially relates to the great city as such. Thus, the city is not evoked directly but indirectly and so changes its character according to the situation and mood of the experiencing subject. This is demonstrated in extreme form in the two poems, "Osterbitte"³¹ and "Meine Nachbarschaft". The former shows the transformation of the poet from a state of almost suicidal depression to one of metaphysical rebirth. Significantly, the winter / summer and city / countryside dualisms are particularly in evidence and the poet is rescued from his melancholy when, looking down from outside the city, the pealing of the Easter bells reminds him that the misery of winter is past. This is sufficient to banish all nihilistic notions and convince him that life and the city have after all much to offer. In "Meine Nachbarschaft", on the other hand, the poem still revolves around the relationship of the poet to his surroundings but the pattern is reversed. Initially he seems to suggest that oppressive though certain aspects of his environment are, he can nevertheless derive considerable consolation and self-fulfilment through his writing. But later in the poem he says that it does not really help being a philosopher. It is not just a question of his surroundings disturbing him in his creative work, for tremendous metaphysical questions are involved. What, he asks, can he, the writer, do in such conditions? At the end of this poem, therefore, there is apparently a change of position, for he says that his environment cannot be compensated for by his work, but on the contrary pre-empted his writing. It is clear, therefore, that no definitive statement vis-à-vis the city can be extracted from these poems. This point is reinforced all the more if comparison is made with Georg Heym. The latter's view of the city is almost monolithically negative

and it is surely no coincidence that in Heym's poetry the city is evoked more directly and the form of the reflecting self is rarely deployed. In Holz's poetry, however, the view of the metropolis is determined by the mediating ego and it is to this above all that the mood of ambivalence is attributable.

If, as argued, Holz was at times both optimistic and equivocal in his attitude to the metropolis, then it must be added that certain poems also reveal a pronounced pessimism. Holz's social conscience was too strong for him to ignore the social misery and poverty attendant on industrialisation. But whereas in other parts of Buch der Zeit he was able to rationalise this in his belief that such misery could be overcome by the solidarity of the masses and a re-structuring of society, in the "Grossstadt" cycle this optimism tends to give way to an anti-urbanism which would see these evils as being basically endemic in the great city. This is particularly evident in the "Phantasmus" poems which centre on the apocalyptical image of the city rendered by the lines:

Ja, jede Grossstadt ist ein Zwinger,
der rot von Blut und Tränen dampft.³²

Emphasis is laid in these verses on the coldness of the city, a cold which is experienced not only as a physical sensation but above all as a state of mind and which no amount of sunlight can counteract. Ultimately this induces such a state of helplessness and resignation that all the individual can do is to curse the city which denies him all possible escape. Crucial to this description is the humiliation the city inflicts on man, a sense of degradation that is underlined by Holz's frequent use of the concept "vertiert"³³ - man dehumanised and rendered bestial, caged and trapped in his primitive surroundings, devoid of freedom and volition and bound to the inexorable law of survival. The final stage in this process of

dehumanisation deprives man of even these animal instincts, reducing him solely to the level of automaton:

Denn auch der Mensch, wird zur Maschine,
wenn er mit hungerbleicher Miene
das alte Tretrad schwingt.

The factory completes the process by fragmenting and destroying his mental powers:

Das ewige Rädern der Maschinen
hat mir das Hirn zerpfückt, zerstückt.³⁴

It is indicative of the extent of the prevailing pessimism in the "Phantasus" poems that only in death is there envisaged any escape from such a crushing reality. This pessimistic strain in Holz's poetry assumes greater relevance when it is remembered that some German Naturalists came positively to fear the city. Bölsche's attitude at the turn of the century, for example, is an unmistakable echo of the sentiments expressed in certain of Holz's poems:

(Ich) bin heute nicht nur der Weltstadt entfremdet, sondern ich meine auch, dass sie ein wahrer Kraken ist, der an unserem geistigen Leben saugt. Je höher die Etagen unter den Rauchhimmel steigen, desto flächer wird die Gemütsbildung und desto mehr keucht jede Geistesäusserung vom Treppensteigen. Der Sinn geht verloren für die feinen Werte in Natur und Kunst, also gerade für das, worin die Entwicklung ansteigt.³⁶

Indeed, these precise sentiments are given poetic expression in the opening verses of Holz's work:

Weit hinter mir liegt die Millionenstadt
ihr wildes Leben hielt mich wild umkettet,
nun aber hab ich, ihrer Wüste satt,
in meine grüne Heimat mich gerettet!³⁷

Buch der Zeit thus reveals that even at its inception German Naturalism, although committed to the modern reality of the metropolis, nevertheless betrays a latent anti-urbanism that prefigures the unequivocal rejection of the city by the Expressionists.

On the evidence of Holz's "Grossstadt" cycle, therefore, it would be difficult to deny Buch der Zeit a place in the tradition of "Grossstadtlyrik". Moreover, I would argue that its significance is more than just a chronological one, for in respect to both the general positions it adopts vis-à-vis the metropolis and the themes and motifs it develops which express those positions, Holz's cycle of poems reveals definite affinities with later poetry. However, any evaluation would remain incomplete without discussion of that element of Holz's early poetry which has done most to limit its overall significance, namely, its form.

Reference has already been made to the great limitations inherent in the perspective of the lyrical self. Essentially this restricted the potentially vast panorama of the metropolis to the subjectivised reflections of an individual - in most cases, a poet - which had important repercussions on the content of the poems. Holz gives expression to the individual's sense of isolation and mood of despair, but nowhere in Buch der Zeit do we find conveyed the alienating disorientation so peculiar to the modern city. Typical of this narrow perspective is the fact that Holz rarely uses the image of the crowd, the amorphous mass of anonymous individuals brought together by urbanisation and technology. Where people appear in profusion it is merely to denote the multiplicity of activity; nowhere does one sense the presence of the crowd as the unstructured welter of unhappy consciousnesses that can be found in, say, Baudelaire. It is this sense of the confusing heterogeneity and felt purposeless of mass existence in the city that is conveyed so forcibly in Georg Heym's poetry. It expresses the conviction that man's relationship to the city is not of his own determining but rather that he is consumed and absorbed by it to such an extent that he is no longer distinguishable from it. Consequently,

the perspective of the reflecting self is of little concern to him. Moreover, where Heym does introduce individual figures, they tend to be, as Rölleke observes,³⁸ beggars, alcoholics, prostitutes, cripples, invalids, lunatics - unconsoling existences from life's periphery representing in extreme form the response to a reality beyond comprehension.

The stylistic deficiencies of Buch der Zeit, however, extend beyond the narrowness of the perspective. For in this early work the stress had fallen on the necessity to modernise content and had neglected any proper consideration of a concomitant transformation of form. This resulted in a sharp disparity between form and content, a weakness to which Holz himself later readily admitted³⁹ and which was succinctly summed up by Döblin as "revolutionärer Inhalt, alte, abgelebte Form."⁴⁰ Indeed, the very title of the work, with its undoubted allusion to Heine's Buch der Lieder, in a sense corroborates Helmut Scheuer's view of what Holz was attempting :

Einerseits blickt er schon nach den neuen literarischen Sujets, aber andererseits will er auch nicht alle Brücken zur anerkannten Lyrik der Gegenwart abbrechen. Er glaubt diese Pole sogar verbinden zu können.⁴¹

A poem such as "Meine Nachbarschaft" provides a good illustration of the problems involved in this attempted synthesis of modern content and traditional form. The poem focuses on the relationship of the poet to his environment, underlying which is the basic assumption of Buch der Zeit that revolutionary social changes have rendered anachronistic the old conception of the poet. Ironically, however, these thoughts are expressed in a language that recalls only too readily precisely those poets from whom Holz wished to dissociate himself. Lines such as the following, for example:

und all mein Tun ist nur ein wenig Schreiben

or

bis endlich, endlich es auch mir gelang,⁴²
was ich gefühlt zum Wohllaut zu gestalten.

Similarly, the poet also has a propensity for words with religious associations, at one point comparing writing with a religious act. However, if the poet's intention is to question the modern world, then clearly classical metaphors and quasi-religious vocabulary hardly provide the appropriately modern vehicle.

Two other examples illustrate a further problem. The poem, "Deutsche Literaturballade", begins with the line "Kennt ihr das Lied, das alte Lied",⁴³ which is undoubtedly intended as a parody of Goethe's "Mignon". Similarly, the poem, "Religionsphilosophie", is constructed in the form of a prayer:

O Herr, aus tiefer Not
schrei ich zu dir hinauf:
Gib mir mein täglich Brot
und etwas Butter drauf! ⁴⁴

The satiric effect behind such use of quotation, however, is considerably diminished by the fact that elsewhere in Buch der Zeit Holz himself frequently deploys uncritically the very style which he here seeks to parody.

A further characteristic of this poetry which makes it seem particularly epigonic is Holz's rigid adherence to traditional rhyme, rhythm and stanza pattern. That is to say, not only does the choice of language reflect an inappropriately traditional tendency to the rhetorical, but also that language itself is then structured according to a more or less totally conventional poetic framework. This, too, could be seen to have had serious repercussions on later poetry, for the pattern established in Buch der Zeit remained more or less standard for the following two decades⁴⁵ and, in many cases, with even worse consequences for the quality of the poetry. The anthology, Im steinernen Meer, suffered particularly from this overemphasis on content, some of the contributors apparently being blissfully unaware that even though a poem may be suffused with vocabulary from the industrial world, that in itself may not be sufficient to render

it modern.

However, not all of Holz's "Grossstadt" poems are straitjacketed by conventional form. Indeed, some even evidence the attempt to develop a more original and personal style, whether it be with the neologisms of "Auf der Strasse" or a poem like "Ninon" which dispenses with rhyme in favour of prose-like, staccato statements. Moreover, where Holz does begin to reveal some awareness of the importance of form, then arguably he is at his most successful. For this reason it would seem to me that the poems, "Grossstadtmorgen" and "Paysage intime", are more effective than most, for the dispassionate and non-lyrical tone is much more appropriate than the rhetorical style of the majority of the other poems. "Grossstadtmorgen", although still conventional in its use of rhyme, does at least break out of the formalised stanza pattern deployed elsewhere and occasionally varies the rhythm to good effect, the rupture of the final line "Mich. . .fröstelte",⁴⁶ for example, providing a jarring reminder to the reader of the actual reality on which the poem centres. More than this, however, the poem operates at a wholly different level linguistically, for no longer is it the impassioned and somewhat bathetic outcry of the poet that addresses the reader. Here the picture is presented through the eyes of a slightly cynical Berliner and as a result is permeated with colloquial, slangy language which, in lines such as

Halb zwei. Mechanisch sah ich nach der Uhr.
An was ich dachte, weiss der Kuckuck nur⁴⁷

at least begins to convey in an appropriate tone the mundane and everyday existence of Berlin. Similarly, the cry of the beggar selling matches not only disrupts the rhythm but at the same time represents the actual reality of Friedrichstrasse interrupting the man's ephemeral escape into

dream. This quasi-reportage style is also effectively used in "Paysage intime", where the description of a man's experience with a prostitute is punctuated by fragments of their perfunctory conversation and by his thoughts at the time:

'Kommst du wieder?' Gott sei Dank!
Jetzt nur noch den Rock und -
'Kommst du wieder? - jetzt 'Adieu!' 48

In addition, Holz for once eschews the use of rhyme, the rhythms are less repititious and insistent and the stanza lengths less rigid, all of which makes for a much less lyrical description and provides one of the few examples in which form and content approach anything like compatibility.

In truth, however, it was only with the Expressionists - and in particular with the striking, eruptive and original images of Georg Heym - that the lyric of the metropolis acquired a form that corresponded to the modernity of its content.⁴⁹ The achievement of Holz's Buch der Zeit and Naturalism in general, was to effect the actual revolutionisation of the content and thereby to provide a stimulus for those writers who were later to change the form. Without further qualification, however, such a judgement would suggest that that achievement was essentially an historically limited one and thus prompt the conclusion at which Schulz, for example, arrives; namely, that the status of Buch der Zeit in literary terms is solely that of an historical document,⁵⁰ i.e. without significance beyond the context of its own time. I would argue, however, that the history of German literature suggests otherwise. The relationship between literature and social reality has in Germany always been a rather uneasy one and German Naturalism is a case in point. For according to one view, as represented, for example, by Jost Hermand, the impetus underlying Naturalism did not of its own accord simply wane towards the end of the century as is commonly

assumed; rather its development was, as it were, broken off or interrupted.⁵¹ As we have already seen, this idea that the Naturalists had set themselves tasks which they had been unable to complete and which, therefore, it was incumbent on later generations to take up, is one which inspired an important debate in the 1920s and which led Döblin, for example, in referring specifically to Holz, to proclaim his own time to be the age of Naturalism.⁵² Significantly, too, when this debate surfaces yet again in the 1960s, the Naturalist writer who comes to the forefront of literary discussion is Arno Holz. That is to say, the acknowledged need for the involvement of imaginative literature in a constantly changing social reality has been a characteristic of the development of German literature in this century and if we agree with Pascal's view that "the modern movement in literature arose from the will to make art serve the purpose of changing the social world, or at least the ethical consciousness of men",⁵³ then Naturalism and Buch der Zeit's radical significance within that movement can be seen to have had an enduring relevance for the orientation of modern German literature as a whole.

C H A P T E R 2

C O N S E Q U E N T I A L N A T U R A L I S M

Apart from Buch der Zeit Holz's literary contribution to Naturalism was, in purely quantitative terms, a relatively minor one. It consisted of a volume of sketches, Neue Gleise¹ (1892), which is commonly associated with a style of prose-writing known alternatively as "consequential Naturalism" or "Sekundenstil" and a work on aesthetics, Die Kunst. Ihr Wesen und ihre Gesetze² (1891), which, in attempting to define the relationship between art and nature, provided in the first instance the theoretical underpinning of this new literary style. This small body of material has nevertheless given rise to an acute polarisation in terms of its critical reception. On the one hand, the traditional view, ranging from some of Holz's contemporaries such as Heinrich Hart to modern critics like Klaus Scherpe and Günther Mahal, sees Holz's writings as representing an extreme verism that aims at a strictly mimetic reproduction of reality. Thus, Wilpert's Sachwörterbuch der Literatur describes Holz's method as essentially "Wirklichkeitskopierende(n) Technik".³ On the other hand, however, an alternative view has recently gained currency which denies Holz any restrictive, purely imitative aim and which locates the major achievement of his writing not in any drive towards objectivity but, on the contrary, in the way his work opened up new possibilities for a differentiated representation of complex subjectivity.

Before considering these two views and their implications in detail, however, it is as well to try and discover the source of this interpretational divergency, for which, I would argue, there are two explanations. The first concerns Holz's theoretical pronouncements, since their reception parallels in many ways the dichotomy of views already described. Hence Marianne Kesting can call Holz's "Kunstgesetz" "silly",⁴ whereas Wilhelm Emrich insists that it has been misunderstood and that it is, in fact, much more elastic and subtle than has been commonly assumed.⁵ Roy Pascal

explains this by arguing that Holz's writing is so ambiguous and inconsistent that it easily allows of various, even antithetical interpretations.⁶ This is certainly true but more crucial, in my opinion, is the failure to observe fully the relationship between theory and literary practice. Thus, on the one hand, there is the tendency for critics merely to extrapolate from the creative writing and either to dismiss Holz's theory as ill-conceived or to reduce it to the level of a platitudinous, mathematical formula without discussing its possible, wider ramifications; while, at the other extreme, writers like Emrich focus on the theory, abstracting from it as if it were a totally coherent, uncontradictory entity, rather than counterposing it to the prose-writing which derives from it. Nor, in my view, is this relationship grasped in its entirety if it is limited merely to the assertion of the identity or non-identity of theory and practice. That is to say, it would be as undifferentiated to argue that Holz's prose-writing bears little resemblance to his theoretical propositions⁷ as it would be to see in those prose-works merely the simple realisation of his aesthetic theory. Essentially - and this is, I think, the second explanation for the emergence of contrary interpretations of Holz's work - this is because the ambiguity that Pascal identifies in the theoretical writings is also present in Holz's prose-works. Or, to put it another way, there are stylistic tendencies in Holz's sketches which simultaneously point in differing directions. More concretely, therefore, it is necessary to draw a distinction that has as yet nowhere been made, between two types of sketch in the Neue Gleise volume: the first category, which comprises "Die papierne Passion",⁸ "Ein Tod" and "Die Familie Selicke", corresponds to the tendency towards a veristic reproduction of empirical reality, while the second category, consisting of "Papa Hamlet" and "Der erste Schultag", although deploying a similar basic representational

method, contains techniques not evident in the other sketches which ultimately lead in a direction different from that of purely mimetic realism. For the sake of convenience these two categories will from now on be referred to as, respectively, the objectivist and the subjectivist tendency, since this distinction, both in respect to the sketches themselves and the literary developments they suggest, will hopefully be substantiated and elaborated in the course of the following analysis.

(i) THE OBJECTIVIST MODE

Attention has already been drawn to the necessity of seeing the relationship between Holz's theoretical statements and his literary practice. The view advanced by some critics,¹ that the main motivation for developing his theory was Holz's inherent opportunist desire to make a name for himself, however much it might reveal of Holz's enigmatic personality, nevertheless tells us precious little about the nature of that relationship. It seems appropriate, therefore, to provide first of all a brief exposition of Holz's aesthetic writings, if for no other reason than that Holz himself claimed that his creative writing developed from his theory and not vice versa: "(ich) modelte mein Werk nach meiner anfänglich von mir 'intuitiv' aufgestellten und dann später mir von mir selbst bewiesenen 'Theorie'".²

In fact, it is not unreasonable to assume that the first impulse for Holz's theoretical reflections was the idea that theorising the problems he encountered in literary production would actually help improve his creative writing.³ Holz himself relates how in 1887 he had begun an autobiographical novel, entitled Goldene Zeiten, and how a dissatisfaction with the work in general and, in particular, his inability to define the source of the charm that certain of his sentences exerted over him, caused him to turn instead to aesthetic studies. There he found the second source of his theoretical interest, Zola's conception of the work of art as "un coin de la nature vu à travers un tempérament." To Holz this formulation appeared a trivial commonplace. Similarly, he dismissed Zola's concept of the "experimental novel" arguing that whereas in science the experiment is conducted in reality, in literature it only takes place in the novelist's head and that "Ein Experiment, das sich bloss im Hirne des Experimentators abspielt, ist eben einfach gar kein Experiment, und wenn es auch zehn Mal

fixiert wird."⁴ Although he rejected this method of writing as still being essentially embedded in the subjective imagination, Holz nevertheless reacted positively to the idea of empirical analysis as a literary process that Zola's juxtaposition of literature and science implied. In order to achieve the theoretical clarity which, in his view, Zola's ideas lacked, Holz turned, as the second stage of his studies, to the work of the English and French positivists such as Mill, Spencer, Comte and Taine.

As his basic premise Holz borrowed from Mill the notion that "Es ist ein Gesetz, dass jedes Ding ein Gesetz hat"⁵, deducing from this that art too must be subject to a definable law of development. A little further on in the argumentation Holz adumbrates the idea of the social determinacy of art as a possible basis for that law, when he asserts "dass die Kunst als ein jedesmaliger Teilzustand des jedesmaligen Gesamtzustandes der Gesellschaft zu diesem in einem Abhängigkeitsverhältnis steht, dass sie sich ändert, wenn dieser sich ändert."⁶ Had Holz ever written the Soziologie der Kunst which he had planned, this idea could usefully have served as his starting-point. Instead Holz concluded that, since art as a totality was not reducible to an object of empirical analysis, he should focus on an individual manifestation of art in the sense of it being a micro-cosmic reflection of that totality:

liegt ein Gesetz einem gewissen Complex von Tatsachen zu Grunde, so liegt dieses selbe Gesetz auch jeder einzelnen Tatsache desselben zu Grunde. Liegt der Kunst in ihrer Gesamterscheinung ein Gesetz zu Grunde, so liegt eben dieses selbe Gesetz auch jeder ihrer Einzeler-scheinungen zu Grunde.⁷

Assessing Holz's aesthetics as a whole, John Osborne, in an acute observation, has pointed to what he considers the underlying contradiction of Holz's theory. For, he argues, on the one hand his theory amounts to a programmatic demand for Naturalism, while, on the other hand, aspiring to be a scientific aesthetic that claims to reveal a law applicable

to all art, whatever its particular style.⁸ The quote above illustrates that Holz was oblivious to this tension between the general and the specific and believed that the law he sought to discover governed not only Naturalism, his immediate object, but all forms of art, past and present, high and low: "Das Gesetz... begreift ein altes japanisches Götzenbild nicht minder, als eine moderne französische Porträtstatue, einen Böcklin nicht minder, als einen Menzel."⁹ From the simple example of a young boy's scribbles on a slate, which Holz is unable to recognise as the soldier the boy thinks he has drawn, Holz deduces that the essence of artistic achievement lies in the discrepancy between artistic aim and its realisation. Holz then devises a formula which seeks to quantify that discrepancy: "Kunst = Natur - X"¹⁰ By analysing the reasons for the discrepancy Holz can then formulate his law: "Die Kunst hat die Tendenz, wieder die Natur zu sein. Sie wird sie nach Massgabe ihrer jeweiligen Reproduktionsbedingungen und deren Handhabung."¹¹ Whereas Zola's definition of the work of art as "un coin de la nature vu à travers un tempérament" retains the idea of the artist's imagination as the decisive factor in artistic production, Holz's law seeks to minimise the subjective element by shifting the emphasis on to the means the artist has at his disposal. As these will necessarily never be perfect, the approximation of art to nature can likewise never be complete:

Eine völlige exakte Reproduktion der Natur durch die Kunst ist ein Ding der absoluten Unmöglichkeit, und zwar - von allen anderen abgesehen - schon aus dem ganz einfachen ... Grunde, weil das betreffende Reproduktionsmaterial, das uns Menschen nun einmal zur Verfügung steht, stets unzulänglich war, stets unzulänglich ist und stets unzulänglich bleiben wird.¹²

In so far as these thoughts, when applied to literature, point to an awareness of the limitations of language, they are of significance since, as will be shown later, they place Holz in a particular tradition that

has developed from a dissatisfaction with traditional language as a meaningful means of expression. More problematical for the present discussion, however, is Holz's concept of "nature", all the more so since Holz nowhere actually defines precisely what he means by it. Klaus Scherpe's analysis of Holz's aesthetics stresses Holz's indebtedness to and absorption into a scientific positivism to the extent that he argues it was never Holz's intention to concretise the notion of nature. Rather it represented a methodological category, signifying merely "object of the sciences", and correlatively the call for an exact reproduction of nature was basically only a formal principle. By Naturalism, therefore, Scherpe concludes, Holz meant essentially what he calls "die Verwissenschaftlichung der Kunstproduktion",¹³ meaning the idea of scientific objectivity and stressing observation and empirical inquiry as the basis for literary technique. More specifically Pascal argues that by "nature" Holz means its external phenomena that are susceptible to direct perception by the senses,¹⁴ whereas Rasch contends that Holz effectively defines artistic activity as the exact reproduction of a physically perceivable object.¹⁵ Certainly when, in the quotation above, Holz argues that a totally exact reproduction of nature through art is an absolute impossibility, the implication is that it is nevertheless desirable. Similarly, Osborne argues that since Holz "had dismissed as an unsound dogma the view. . . that the essence of art does not consist in the exact imitation of nature. . . the implication behind these words is reasonably clear: art does consist in the exact imitation of nature".¹⁶ Given the ambiguities of Holz's theory, the question as to whether these judgements are unjust or not is of less relevance than the implications they have for an analysis of Holz's creative writing.

The literary characteristic most readily associated with the "Sekundenstil" is probably that which Wyndham Lewis has, in another context, nicely termed "the law of fanatical scrupulosity",¹⁷ meaning the meticulous attention to the minutiae of description. Heinrich Hart quotes probably the most illuminating example of the effect Holz was trying to achieve:

Er entwickelte seine Absicht am Beispiel eines vom Baume fallenden Blattes. Die alte Kunst hat von dem fallenden Blatt weiter nichts zu melden gewusst, als dass es im Wirbel sich drehend zu Boden sinkt. Die neue Kunst schildert diesen Vorgang von Sekunde zu Sekunde; sie schildert, wie das Blatt, jetzt auf dieser Seite vom Licht beglänzt, rötlich aufleuchtet, auf der andern schattengrau erscheint, in der nächsten Sekunde ist die Sache umgekehrt, sie schildert, wie das Blatt erst senkrecht fällt, dann zur Seite getrieben wird, dann wieder lotrecht sinkt, sie schildert - ja, der Himmel weiss, was sie sonst noch zu berichten hat.¹⁸

While eschewing the tendentiousness of Scherpe's conclusions, Roy Pascal nevertheless endorses his view that the overriding influence on Holz was that of scientific positivism and contends that this led him to see the chief purpose of literature in the uncovering of causal laws.¹⁹ Similarly, Fritz Martini, in explaining how this influence was reflected in his creative writing, argues that Holz extended his conviction as to the ultimate determinacy of all things into the belief that even the smallest individual phenomena are causally linked to that whole which constitutes life as a totality. Since, then, even the apparently most insignificant detail reflects an underlying causality, a true application of scientific method to literature thus demands that as far as possible everything, no matter how insubstantial or contradictory, be recorded by the artist.²⁰ Holz himself expressed his belief in the law of causality in the following terms:

Erst durch sie (i.e. die endliche, grosse Erkenntnis von der durchgängigen Gesetzmässigkeit alles Geschehens, R.A.B.) ist uns die Welt aus einem blinden, vernunftlosen Durcheinanderwüten blinder, vernunftloser Einzeldinge, dessen Widersinnigkeit unserer wachsenden Erkenntnis um so empörender dünken musste, je ernsthafter wir in ihm das Walten eines uns gütigen Wesens verehren sollten, das uns Hunger

und Pest, Tod und Krankheit erleiden liess, um uns seiner 'Liebe' zu vergewissern, zu einem einzigen, riesenhaften Organismus geworden, dessen kolossale Glieder logisch ineinander greifen, in dem jedes Blutskügelchen seinen Sinn und jeder Schweisstropfen seinen Verstand hat.²¹

Consequently, Mahal terms Holz's style "eine(r) auf Totalität abzielende(n) Mimesis"²² and there is indeed evidence to support the view that Holz was advocating art as the reproduction of physically perceivable reality.

After all, the examples that Holz himself cites (the leaf, the young boy's soldier) were, significantly, drawn from the physical world, while the particular use of the words "Reproduktion" and "wieder" in his "Kunstgesetz" inevitably suggests the idea of copying reality, an impression enhanced furthermore by the description of Holz's method given by his collaborator, Johannes Schlaf: "... nur das Sinnfällige, Positive, tatsächlich Wahrnehmbare und Kontrollierbare (wird) gegeben..."²³ Thus, by far the most common view of consequential Naturalism is one which equates it with a "photographisch und phonographisch exakten, räumlich und zeitlich lückenlosen, sprachlichen Bestandaufnahme der Wirklichkeit".²⁴ This typical emphasis²⁵ on the "photo-phonographic" element of depiction imputes to Holz, above all, a confidence in the power of language to convey material reality.

Indeed, in Die Kunst. Ihr Wesen und ihre Gesetze Holz constructed a hierarchy of the arts in which literature has primacy since its artistic means, words, are, he argues, more comprehensive ("... kein Mittel ist umfassender als das Wort.")²⁶ Clearly, therefore, the aspect of language that Holz was embracing was its powers of concreteness, not its powers of abstraction.

By "photographic" depiction is meant the evocation in words of visible realities. The actual empirical nature of description this meticulous faithfulness to actuality often involved is illustrated by the circumstances surrounding the composition of the final scene of "Papa Hamlet". Interwoven into the details of Thienwiebel's brutality, his wife's

hysterical responses and the child's death is the minute description of the light effects caused by an old oil lamp that is gradually burning out. Before they were able to complete this scene, Holz relates,²⁷ he and Schlaf decided it was necessary actually to enact the process with the oil lamp in their room so that they could record all the various effects as they occurred. In general stylistic terms, however, what this emphasis on concrete details tends to produce is a proliferation of adjectives. The following short passage from "Ein Tod", in which eight nouns merit no less than thirteen different qualifying words, is typical of Holz's simple descriptive method:

In dem matten Schein der Lampe jetzt ein blaurotes, gedunsenes Gesicht, das mit seinen kleinen, verschommenen Augen blöde im Zimmer umherglotzte. Unter dem eingedrückten Hut vor dünne, flach-sblonde Haare in die rote, fette schweisstriefende Stirn.²⁸

Such an unrelenting compilation of adjectives could quickly become tiresome if its sole purpose were the amassing of random detail. At certain moments, however, such as those describing the interior of Thienwiebel's room in "Papa Hamlet", the myriad, heterogeneous elements may melt together into a visual picture that Martini calls a "still life".²⁹ But, as will be shown elsewhere, this "still-life" technique at the same time produces quite the opposite effect of an objective reproduction of external reality and constitutes, on the contrary, a subjectivising tendency.

The most important feature of mimetic realism, however, is the idea of phonographic reproduction, by which is understood the use of language to register auditory realities. Often this involves the translation of acoustic effects into linguistic form; for example, the crackling of the oil lamp and the dripping of the thawing snow in the last scene of "Papa Hamlet", the creaking of the cupboard in "Ein Tod" etc. In a, perhaps, slightly comic moment in "Die papierne Passion" an object is even allowed direct speech, for instead of the reader being informed by the narrator

that there was a ring at the door, in the text he finds: ""Zing, zing! . . . zing, zing!""³⁰ In the main, however, the idea of phonographic reproduction refers to the detailed recording of human speech. The emphasis on everyday language - which produced what Holz was quite happy to have described as "die Mimik der Rede"³¹ - was essentially, as Holz explained, a reaction against an artificial, literary language, particularly that of the pre-Naturalist theatre:

Die Sprache des Theaters ist die Sprache des Lebens. Nur des Lebens! . . . Ihr Ziel zeichnet sich klar: die aus dem gesamten einschlägigen Reproduktions-material sich nun einmal ergebenden Unvermeidlichkeiten möglichst auf ihr Minimum herabzudrücken, statt des bisher überliefert gewesenen posierten Lebens damit mehr und mehr das nahezu wirkliche zu setzen, mit einem Wort, aus dem Theater allmählich das 'Theater' zu drängen.³²

The resultant stress on authenticity had particular consequences for the style of language Holz developed. The main effect - and sadly the one for which Naturalism in general is most often remembered - was the reproduction, despite the attendant dangers of incomprehensibility, of jargon and dialect in all their phonetic complexity. "Die papierne Passion", for example, is written almost entirely in the following manner:

Det wah'n Kind! - Jott! Ick sage!- Se hätt'n man bloss ihre Ogen sehn solln! - Na! - Ick . . . wenn . . . mit eenem Worte . . . Sehn Se! So'nn Kind muss mir nu sterben un mit det riedije, ruppige Froonzimmer muss ick mir zu Schanden ärjern! Nee! . . . Ick . . . Jott! - Ick sag schon! . . . Nee!³³

This is not intended as an aim in itself. Rather it serves to capture the natural inarticulateness and incoherence of ordinary people by recording all their repetitions, interjections, hesitations and incomplete utterances, in short, all the human sounds irrespective of their value as direct communication.

The obvious effect of such a style is an intensification of realism in the simple sense that people are presented, or rather present themselves, as they really speak. This allowed Holz the means with which to differentiate between various linguistic registers and to translate different levels

of consciousness into basic, ordinary language. "Ein Tod" provides a good example of this technique. In the sketch two students are watching over a companion who has been fatally wounded in a duel. A drunk staggers into the room by mistake:

"Sie sind fehlgegangen!"
"Wa. . . hbf. . . wa. . . waas? Hbf! . . ."
"Sie sind fehlgegangen."
"Ah! . . . En. . . en. . . Hbf! . . . schul. . . Jen. . . i. . .
hbf! . . . ich."
"Bitte!"
"Hb! Hbf! . . ."³⁴

This contrasts with the delirium of the dying student:

"Ja! - Ja. . . Die Sonne scheint so wunderschön. . . Draussen. . .
Heut abend bei Bergenhaus. . . an Strand. . . Nicht wahr, Nora? . .
Ach, schon Morgen. . . Bloss ein Fräsch! . . . Nicht doch. . . bloss
ein Fräsch. . . Hier! Hier! . . . Das Gras ist so schön. . . Oh,
nicht wahr? Wir werden uns nie vergessen? . . . Nie. . . Nie. . .
Oh, nicht wahr? . . . Noch ein Kuss? . . . Hm? . . . Gute Nacht. . .
Der Mond. . . so schön. . . dort. . . über der See. . . so rot. . .
so gross. . . so groooss. . ."³⁵

Finally, Holz records the sense of shock experienced by the students at the moment of their friend's death:

"Man. . . man spürt - den Puls gar nicht - mehr. . ."
"Was??"
"Ach. . . Er. . . er ist ja - tot??!"
"W. . . ?"
"Tot!!!"³⁶

That this serves to heighten the realistic effect is clear. There is, however, another less obvious benefit. For Jost Hermand this method of writing lowers language to the level of a "Begleitinstrument des Mimus",³⁷ which has the effect of reducing characters to the status of "blosse Sprech=apparate".³⁸ In so far as this means that Holz rejected the role of characters as bearer of ideas, it is undoubtedly true; the term Hermand employs, however, is less apposite, since the analogy with the machine implies insensate beings devoid of spontaneous reaction and emotional response. That this fragmentation of language could, on the contrary, effectively evoke mental states and reveal the pre-conscious and instinctual

realms of the psyche, perhaps even the subconscious, was a stylistic feature of which Holz himself was clearly aware:

Jene kleinen Freiheiten und Verschämtheiten jenseits aller Syntax, Logik und Grammatik, in denen sich das Werden und Sichformen eines Gedankens, das unbewusste Reagieren auf Meinungen und Gebärden des Mitunterredners, Vorwegnahme von Einwänden, Captatio benevolentiae und all jene leisen Regungen der Seele ausdrücken... über die, die Widerspiegeler des Lebens sonst als 'unwichtig' hinwegzugleiten strebten, die aber gerade meist das 'Eigentliche' enthalten und verraten.³⁹

In "Ein Tod", for example, the dialogue is intended to shed light on the relationship between the two characters, for their conversation hardly ever reaches the level of meaningful communication but rather is simply a means of concealing their obvious pained embarrassment. Or, again, in the final scene of "Papa Hamlet", Holz uses spoken language to similarly good effect:

Er hatte den Lutschpfropfen gefunden und wischte ihn sich nun an den Unterhosen ab.
"So' ne Kälte! Na? Wird's nu bald? Na? Nimm's doch, Kameel! Nimm's doch! Na?!"
Der kleine Fortinbras jappte!
Sein Köpfchen hatte sich ihm hinten ins Genick gekrampft, er bohrte es jetzt verzweifelt nach allen Seiten.
"Na? Willst du nu, oder nich?! - - Bestie!!!"
"Aber-Niels! Um Gottes willen! Er hat ja wieder den - Anfall!"
"Ach was! Anfall! - - Da! Friss!!!"
"Hergott, Niels ..."
"Friss!!!"
"Niels!"
"Na? Bist du - nu still? Na? - Bist du - nu still? Na?! Na?!"
"Ach Gott! Ach Gott, Niels, was, was - machst du denn bloss?! Er, er - schreit ja gar nicht mehr! Er ... Niels!!!"
Sie war unwillkürlich zurückgeprallt. Seine ganze Gestalt war vornüber geduckt, seine knackenden Finger hatten sich krumm in den Korbrand gekrallt. Er stierte sie an. Sein Gesicht was aschfahl.
"Die ... L - ampe! Die ... L-ampe! Die ... L-ampe!"
"Niels!!!"⁴⁰

The actual drama of this scene, the ostensible climax of the whole sketch, is conveyed exclusively by the vocal responses of the two characters. For whereas the narrator's interventions are markedly dispassionate and restricted to a clinical description of Thienwiebel's behaviour and the child's reactions, the direct speech records the emotional progression in Thienwiebel

from mild annoyance to brutal loss of self-control to a state of paralysed mortification,,and in Amalie from irritation to apprehension to total horror at her husband's actions. In this way Holz allows the diverse nuances of psychological characterisation to emerge through the characters' own speech. Klaus Scherpe argues that Holz's exclusive emphasis on a stylised "Umgangssprache" and on a language expressing involuntary psychological response merely underlines the subordination of his characters to milieu.⁴¹ Of course, like most of the Naturalists, Holz accepted more or less without qualification that there existed a relationship of determinacy between human beings and their milieu and his characterisation was, indeed, intended to reflect that relationship: "Menschen ohne Milieu, konstruierte, abstrakte, kann ich für meine Zwecke nicht brauchen."⁴² However, when Scherpe asserts that Holz presents his characters as passive products of their environment, seemingly deprived of individual rationality and will, his comments represent not so much descriptive observation as prescriptive criticism and as such they come, as will be shown later, within a particular tradition in the critical reception of Naturalism as a literary movement.

The "photo-phonographic" representation of reality, namely, the insistence on circumstantial precision and exact reproduction of human speech that Hauptmann likened to the observing of life through a magnifying glass,⁴³ is one aspect of the objectivity it is claimed Holz achieved in his prose-writing. The objectivising tendency of this characteristic of Holz's style, however, is clearly contingent on the other feature of his imaginative prose that is commonly singled out in this context, namely, the suppression of an authorial subjectivity. H.H. Borchardt writes for example: "Es kann... gar kein Zweifel bestehen, dass Holz damals wirklich an eine Kunst höchster Objektivität gedacht hat, die das Subjekt des Künstlers völlig ausschalten sollte."⁴⁴ Too often, however, such judgements

appear to have been derived merely from Holz's aesthetic writings and without reference to his prose-works. It is above all Fritz Martini who, in his comprehensive and often perceptive analysis of "Papa Hamlet", has done most to develop this line of argumentation with regard to the creative writing. Perhaps mindful of Holz's claim that literary representation should develop "aus den Dingen selbst",⁴⁵ Martini says of "Papa Hamlet":

Diese Prosa zwingt ihren Leser in diese abstosssende Wirklichkeit, ohne sie durch irgendeine erzählerische Distanz zu relativieren oder einzuschränken;⁴⁶ . . . Holz erstrebte ein Maximum an Objektivität des Erzählens, in dem jede Fälschung der Realität durch das subjektivierende Dazwischentreten des referierenden Erzählers vermieden und so dass Leben unmittelbar zu Wort gebracht wird.⁴⁷

In two crucial essays on the prose-style of Naturalism, Roy Pascal has done much to correct what he considers to be a mistaken judgement of the narrative perspective in Holz's work.⁴⁸ My own view is that despite the many valuable insights which Pascal's analysis affords (and which will be elaborated later) his case is nevertheless something of an over-correction. That is to say, I believe it is possible to rehabilitate many of Martini's propositions if, as I argued earlier, one differentiates between two types of sketch in the Neue Gleise volume. As Pascal has clearly demonstrated, certain of Martini's observations are simply not valid in relation to "Papa Hamlet" (or to "Der erste Schultag" for that matter.) They could, however, be applied with much less difficulty to those of Holz's sketches I have placed in the objectivist category where the narrator, although in Pascal's words, always to a certain extent "irrepressible", is nevertheless not so manifestly in evidence.

Clearly, any meaningful discussion of narrative perspective necessitates a distinction between a direct and an indirect authorial presence. When, therefore, Martini speaks of the narrative proceeding without the mediating presence of the narrator or of the ascetic eradication of the self on the part of the writer,⁴⁹ he clearly means by that in the first

instance the elimination of any direct authorial comment. Furthermore, he underscores the point by comparing "Papa Hamlet" with the sketch that provided the basis for it, and which was the sole work of Johannes Schlaf. It is, of course, true that in "Papa Hamlet" Holz does succeed in reducing the obtrusive authorial prominence revealed in the patently moralising stance of the narrator in Schlaf's "Ein Dachstubenidyll". It is, however, equally untrue to maintain that Holz excluded all direct narratorial intervention. The conclusion drawn at the end of Section VI of "Papa Hamlet", for example, is in part at least, if not in its entirety,⁵⁰ that of the narrator: "Der grosse Thienwiebel hatte nicht so ganz unrecht: Die ganze Wirtschaft bei ihm zu Hause war der Spiegel und die abgekürzte Chronik des Zeitalters."⁵¹ Similarly, the "epilogue" of Section VII is consciously structured in such a way as to make a particular point. Martini himself lays great emphasis on the function of this epilogue since, he argues, the conclusion it provokes betrays not the bourgeois moralising characteristic of Schlaf's first draft but an underlying doubt and cynicism that constitutes an important relativisation of the unsuppressed narratorial distaste for the bohemian expressed elsewhere in the sketch. However, the fact that such a corrective is necessary merely testifies to the intrusion of the narrator's values in the first place.

More subtle, perhaps, but no less obtrusive than direct intervention is the pervasive irony of the narratorial description. The repeated use of a phrase like "der grosse Thienwiebel" ironising the actor's delusory self-importance or the describing of a character as "der alten, lieben, guten Frau Wachtel", when she is in fact the very opposite, are not the objective statements of a detached observer. Rather they are symptomatic of a caustic irony which is directed against the characters

the narrator describes and of which the reader cannot help but be aware.

Another argument advanced to support the claim to objectivity deriving from the exclusion of the authorial voice is what many critics have referred to as the marked tendency to dialogue form.⁵² In dialogue, it is argued, the author apparently stands back to let the characters, as it were, introduce and define themselves through their own words and I have already quoted examples from Holz's sketches illustrating how this works. Certainly, when in 1890 Holz wrote to Schlaf "Keine Verse mehr, keine Romane mehr, für uns existiert nur noch die offene, lebendige Szene"⁵³ then this enthusiasm stemmed from the belief that their development of a new form of dialogue pointed inevitably in the direction of drama and thus, by implication, to the redundancy of the narrator. Significantly, however, "Papa Hamlet" and "Der erste Schultag" are not the best examples of this tendency (in fact, the latter hardly exhibits it at all since it contains relatively little dialogue.) On the other hand, "Ein Tod" consists almost entirely of fragments of dialogue, whereas in "Die papierne Passion" Holz emphasises the prominent role of speech by presenting all other parts of the narrative in small print very much in the style of stage directions. Altogether, therefore, as far as the question of a direct authorial presence is concerned, the case for its elimination would appear to be more substantial with regard to the sketches representing the objectivist tendency since not only do they dispense with all direct, moralising or interpretative, narratorial intrusions but they are also free of the critical irony that informs "Papa Hamlet" and, to a lesser extent, "Der erste Schultag".

I believe this is equally true of the role of the narrator as an indirect presence, that is to say, in respect of those elements of narration that cannot simply be identified as the narrator's explicitly

subjective experience of the reality he relates. Essentially this concerns the problem of the overall structure of the narrative and the question of selectivity. Most commonly one encounters this in the popular "slice-of-life" conception of Naturalist fiction, that is, in the idea that, as Martini puts it, life itself is being rendered in words. Holz himself uses precisely this image in relation to Die Familie Selicke:

Mit kleinen, völlig absichtlosen Studien direkt nach der Natur, ohne uns sozusagen um Gott und die Welt zu kümmern, hatten wir angefangen und schliesslich mit der "Familie Selicke", durch die man in ein Stück Leben wie durch ein Fenster sah, aufgehört.⁵⁴

The crucial word here is "absichtlos". For all his professed dislike of the idea of the experimental novel, writing, as Holz understands it, still seems to display more than just a vague affinity with Zola's conceptualisation of it, since both imply that once the literary process begins (i.e. in Zola's metaphor, once he has initiated the chemical reaction, in Holz's metaphor, once he has chosen which window to peer through) the author no longer in any way controls events and all he can do is record what he sees. This has two consequences for the structure of the narration: firstly, the events and characters described must essentially remain random and should not gell together to form a "story" and secondly, if the narrator's function is not one of a discriminating selector of events, it follows that the passage of time in the narrative should reflect as faithfully as possible the time-sequence of actuality. That is to say, it presupposes the identity of narrative time and narrated time and demands that the narrator forgo the chronological mobility he is normally permitted in traditional prose. Martini sees the realisation of both these demands in "Papa Hamlet". And yet, of all the sketches this is surely, despite its unremitting focus on the idea of the bohemian environment, the one with the most easily recognisable story-line, complete in fact with dramatic climax and authorial conclusion. As regards the question of time-sequence David Turner

remarks in his discussion of Die Familie Selicke that Holz and Schlaf have not only made the inevitable concession to choice in giving their play an end; they further divided it into acts, thus ignoring that part of reality, however trivial, which occurs in the gaps.⁵⁵ This comment applies equally to the temporal disjunctions of "Papa Hamlet". Moreover, as Pascal shows, there is a clearly structured time-scheme indicated, on the one hand, by events such as the birth of the child and the details of its growth, and, on the other hand, by temporal allusions by the narrator such as "seit Wochen", "heute abend", "mit der Zeit", which constantly remind the reader of the uneven passage of time. By comparison, however, one of the main features of "Ein Tod" is precisely the way in which it communicates to the reader the extremely regular, almost directly experiential passing of time. Similarly, "Die papierne Passion" appears as a unitary moment extracted from "life", which - while I do not wish to descend to the fatuous level of "when is a plot not a plot?" - nevertheless seems to me in no meaningful sense to constitute a story, a fact which surely underlies Turner's view that of all the sketches only "Die papierne Passion" conveys a real sense of random presentation.⁵⁶

It has not been my purpose in this summary discussion of "Papa Hamlet" to argue that those elements of narrative perspective I have referred to represent major stylistic deficiencies. Rather I have been concerned to point out that they militate against Martini's claim of the unassailable narratorial objectivity of "Papa Hamlet". Moreover, in addition to those aspects already discussed, there are two further stylistic characteristics common to both "Papa Hamlet" and "Der erste Schultag" which weaken the imputed objectivity. I refer to Holz's use of symbolism (of which Martini's "still-life technique" is one example) and his use of the "free indirect style" (which Martini fails to remark on at all). For the moment it

suffices to say that by this latter technique I mean the narratorial mode of the shifting perspective, i.e. the alternating of perspective from the narrator to the consciousness of one or other of the characters and the assertion thereby of a multiplicity of viewpoints. Again it is not my aim to portray these techniques as inherent stylistic weaknesses; on the contrary, as I hope to show later, I believe they make for a substantial enrichment of the text. It is not, however, an enrichment pointing in the direction of objectivity and, significantly, it is only these two texts in the subjectivist category where Holz deploys the techniques. In so far as the narrator can ever disappear from view, therefore - and even in "Die papierne Passion" the contrast between the literary, articulate language of the narrator, albeit after the fashion of stage directions, and the chatty, jargonesque dialect of the characters does ultimately remind the reader of his presence - I would argue that the sketches of the objectivist type achieve his elimination as successfully as will ever be possible within the framework of simple realism.

To illustrate the objectivist interpretation of the "Sekundenstil", I would like, in conclusion, to look in detail at one of the sketches I have ascribed to the objectivist category, namely, "Die papierne Passion", since so far I have asserted rather than demonstrated the validity of that ascription. In my discussion of the text I intentionally reproduce many of the points made in Günther Mahal's analysis since he regards "Die papierne Passion" as "stylistically, a paradigm of consequential Naturalism" in which "mit einem ausgefeilten Instrumentarium exaktheits - und totalitätsbemühter Reproduktion, mit einer nahezu perfekten Mimesis Realität (wird) "Natur" "wieder" gezeigt".⁵⁷ Mahal's analysis, then, is in turn a paradigm of the objectivist interpretation of Holz's prose-style.

The action of the sketch is minimal: it takes place in Mutter Abend=

roth's kitchen, where, busy with her cooking, she expresses her impatient concern over the growing sexual awareness of Wally, her maturing eleven-year-old adopted daughter; she gives hot food and drink to one of her tenants, a shy student who asks for and gets a two-week extension during which to pay his rent, and is amused by the jokes of her other student tenant who consciously plays up to her; Olle Kopelke, an old suitor of hers, relives some of the memories of his youth and to amuse Wally cuts out from a folded newspaper the symbols and figures of the crucifixion; this tour de force, however, is interrupted by the sounds of a drunken husband beating his wife and by the noise of the crowd that gathers to watch in the yard; when the characters return from watching the activity outside, they find the draught from the window has ruined Kopelke's creation. Schulz's view that this obviously symbolises the increasing secularisation of industrial society⁵⁸ is rather far fetched since this would be much too heavy a moral for such a light-weight sketch to bear. The title, says Mahal, has no special significance and could just as easily be "Küchengespräche", "Untermietersorgen" or "Krach im Hinterhof", since the sketch does not set out to impart any "message" or pose any questions. Rather it is "open-ended" in the sense that its beginning and end are totally arbitrary, possessing no significance as beginning and end other than as the means of encapsulating what is described: "Alltag, blosse Durchschnittlichkeit, Wohnküchenroutine".⁵⁹ This emphasises that the real "theme" of the sketch is the milieu, which is the kitchen ("der ständige gegenwärtige Fokus")⁶⁰ on the fourth floor of the tenement, and the surrounding localities of the "Hinterhof", a basement bar and the large nearby factory. The interpenetration of the kitchen milieu and the reality beyond it is presented in the text in the following manner:

Unten, vier Treppen tiefer aus dem Budikerkeller, jetzt deutlich der dünne Ton einer Ziehharmonika: "SISTE WOLL, DA KIMMT ER, LANGE SCHRITTE NIMMT ER". . . Mutter Abendroth'n hat sich, die Hände in die Seiten, mitten in die dunkle Küche gestellt. . . "SISTE WOLL, DA KIMMT ER SCHON, DER BESOFFNE SCHWIEGERSOHN. . ." (. . .)

"H a c h , J o t t , n a ' I c k s a g s c h o n !" Mutter Abendroth'n hat sich wieder auf ihren Stuhl gesetzt, wieder kratzen die Kartoffeln über das Reibeisen. Draussen tappt es faul die Treppen hinunter. Eine Weile vergeht. Das kleine, blitzende Pünktchen auf dem Zinkdeckel der langen Pfeife hinten in der Schrankecke tanzt, zwischen den beiden blutroten Troddeln oben am Mundstück flinkern ein paar Goldfäden. . . Eben ist unten durch den Torweg wieder ein schwerer, mit Eisen beladener Wagen in den Hof gerasselt. Ein paar Arbeiter rufen und lachen, unten im Budikerkeller muss man unterdessen die Fenster geöffnet haben, die Ziehharmonika ist verstummt, deutlich klappern ein paar Billardbälle. Dazwischen, regelmässig, von der Fabrik her, die Dämpfe.⁶¹

Reference has already been made to how the narratorial details take on the appearance of stage directions. Mahal, however, dislikes this comparison since it suggests that the sketch was nothing more than a preparatory exercise for Holz and Schlaf before turning to the drama proper. Moreover, he argues, many details - like those relating to smells or to effects of such minimal acoustic or visual intensity as those in the above passage - are totally impracticable and could never be realised in a stage production. Nor, he points out, is it merely non-dialogue information that is presented in small print for, in the passage quoted, for instance, the typographical form of the singing in the basement is distinguished from both that of the narratorial details and the dialogue in the kitchen. The text, therefore, constructs a hierarchy in the following order: firstly, the dialogue between the characters in the kitchen, secondly, the narrator's description and thirdly, the talking, shouting and singing from the other floors of the building, the courtyard or the factory. The effect, Mahal claims, is to emphasise the kitchen as the locus of narration ("ständigen Bezugsort")

while, at the same time, conveying the simultaneity of the many disparate but contiguous moments beyond that immediate experiential reality.

"Die papierne Passion" is, however, more than just a study of milieu; in addition it draws five miniature portraits of typical Berlin figures. As well as a wealth of concrete, physical details there are hints at certain characterological traits such as Mutter Abendroth's basic generosity, the precociousness of Wally and Kopelke's pretensions to human insight in his love of dispensing advice. These are colourful, sympathetically drawn figures, comfortably and inconspicuously rooted in the reality the sketch reproduces. However, the two main "participants" in that reality never, according to Mahal, actually appear in the sketch itself. The first and more obvious of the two is the narrator. This is no omniscient figure carefully structuring his material to make a calculated point; rather it is the meticulous observer totally immersed in the reality of his characters and concerned only to record in the minutest detail all the possible sense-perceptions those characters experience. This, for Mahal, constitutes the basic paradox of the author's role: on the one hand, Holz has totally eliminated the narrator as a distinct presence, has hidden him behind or merged him into the various characters in such a way that the sketch appears to narrate itself; on the other hand, the author is omnipresent, his five senses of perception working overtime, as it were, to register the slightest physical sensation so that the sketch is, down to the last detail, his own unique product. The ultimate effect from either point of view, however, is Mahal argues, total objectivity:

die Wieder-Gabe, die Reproduktion eines Beobachtungsfelds, das Wiedererstehenlassen eines minutiös als experimentelle Modellsituation 'erfassten' bestimmten Raumes in einer bestimmten Zeit. . . ein derart ausgefeiltes Arrangement subjektiver Einzeleindrücke, dass

diese qualitativ in objektive Totalität umschlagen.⁶²

Moreover, this qualitative transformation has, according to Mahal, a unique effect on the reader. For the process of, as it were, re-enacting, recreating reality - an effect heightened both by the identity of narrated and narrative time and by the immediacy of the present tense which is used throughout - draws the reader irresistibly into that reality itself, not just as an observer but as an actual participant. In Mahal's words: "Der Leser schaut... nicht in eine Wohnküche hinein, sondern befindet sich in ihr, ... integriert und miterlebend..."⁶³ For the reader this is the ultimate literary experience, "Kunstkonsumption über alle fünf Sinne";⁶⁴ for the writer, who has therefore not merely produced a photographic copy of reality but has succeeded in actually recreating reality, this is by Holz's own criteria the optimal artistic achievement: "der Nachvollzug totaler Mimesis... die Rückverwandlung des aus der 'Natur' 'Kunst' Gewordenen in 'Natur' mit einer Vollständigkeit, die schlechthin nicht mehr zu überbieten ist."⁶⁵ Günther Mahal thus claims for "Die papierne Passion" what Holz himself maintained was impossible: the reduction of the "-x" factor in his equation to an imperceptibility, that is to say, the exact reproduction of nature through art.

Before examining the wider possible ramifications of Holz's style it is as well firstly to clarify the relationship of that style to German Naturalism as a whole and in particular to its most successful practitioner, Gerhart Hauptmann. It is sometimes claimed - not least of all by Holz himself - that Hauptmann was directly influenced by Holz in the development of his early dramas and in support of this claim it is common practice to adduce the dedication to Holz that Hauptmann included in the first edition of Vor Sonnenaufgang: "Bjarne P. Holmsen, dem konsequentesten

Realisten, Verfasser von 'Papa Hamlet' zugeeignet, in freudiger Anerkennung der durch sein Buch empfangenen, entscheidenden Anregung."⁶⁶

Subsequently, however, Hauptmann withdrew this dedication and denied that Holz's influence had ever played a decisive role. The facts of the relationship between the two men are already documented⁶⁷ and the most likely explanation is that their collaboration did help Hauptmann refine certain ideas (particularly the reproduction of human speech) on which he had already begun to focus his attention. Clearly, therefore, Holz's later view that the style of the Papa Hamlet volume is qualitatively different from anything that Hauptmann achieved is an exaggerated claim. As Osborne observes, it represents a difference in degree, not in kind.⁶⁸ Furthermore, this is equally true of Holz's relationship to Naturalism as a whole.

Far too often German Naturalism has been erroneously equated with Holz's aesthetic theory whereas, as Roy Pascal rightly insists, Naturalism is actually characterised by a whole range of motifs and motivations, social, intellectual and aesthetic, for some of which the theory of Holz provided an important impetus but others of which it neglected.⁶⁹ In fact, Hauptmann's dedication of 1889 is an accurate assessment of Holz's relationship to Naturalism: that is to say, he was stylistically "the most consequential" of the Naturalists and it is precisely for that reason that his prose-style suggests certain relationships with subsequent literary developments.

The exclusive identification of German Naturalism with the theory and practice of Arno Holz betrays an undifferentiated use of the term. There is, however, another and, to my mind, more serious misuse of the word and one which is not, incidentally, restricted to the German context. This is the tendency, when analysing prose stylistically similar to Holz's "Sekundenstil", to deploy the term "naturalistic" in an intentionally pejorative sense, either to denote merely naive or trivial realism or, as is sometimes the case, simply as a euphemism for stylistically bad

writing. This is particularly true of analyses of proletarian literature, probably since realism is, for obvious reasons, the style which many working-class writers turn to as the most easily accessible means of artistic expression. Roy Johnson has recently written an article on "The Proletarian Novel", which I quote at some length since it provides a good illustration of this kind of criticism:

The sad fact of most 'proletarian writing' is that whilst it is motivated by the honourable intention of registering the existence of the working class within the fictional universe and counterbalancing the weight of middle-class life and thought which dominates literature,... invariably the political impulse behind the writing is stronger than the artistic. There is usually a fervent desire to explain for what seems to be the first time ever what it is like to endure the social, economic and cultural hardships of working-class life - but unfortunately this frequently results in a catalogue of trivial details, naturalistic descriptions and an absence of experience which has been artistically synthesised.⁷⁰

While I would wish to contest the implication of Johnson's analysis that naturalistic description is in itself "unfortunate" - and one can well imagine that were he to look at Holz's prose he would make more or less the same criticisms since, significantly, he does, elsewhere in the article, apply precisely these strictures to certain contemporary German developments⁷¹ which, as I shall argue, do reveal a basic affinity with Holz's prose - it is nevertheless undeniable that the style and method of Naturalism has on occasions been taken over and applied uncritically. No less uncritical, in my view, however, is the way Johnson chooses to regard the style. For to dismiss Naturalism as the failure to "artistically synthesise experience" is an abuse of the term which seems to deny that the style, as essentially a mode of perception, could ever be usefully appropriated by subsequent writers. One of the purposes that such an appropriation might in fact serve is indicated in Jost Hermand's expansive conception of Naturalism:

Man tut dem Naturalismus darum einen schlechten Dienst, wenn man

seine revolutionären Elemente verabsolutiert und zu einem zeitlosen Stil erhebt. Es ist seinem ganzen Wesen nach eine Durchgangsstation, eine Wendemarke, deren Aufgabe lediglich darin besteht, das Stagnierende oder Erstarrte bewusst formalistischer Epochen auseinanderzusprengen und an ihre Stelle das Postulat der ungeschminkten Wahrheit zu setzen.⁷²

Against this it is, of course, possible to argue that Hermand's view is so general as to deprive the term Naturalism of all specificity, historical or stylistic; its undoubted merit, however, is its emphasis on the primary concern of Naturalism with truth, in the sense of striving for objectivity, for it is precisely that which also underpins two types of contemporary literature that can, I believe, be related to consequential Naturalism. I refer to reportage and documentary prose which could be seen as representing, respectively, the photographic and phonographic elements of Naturalism. This basic affinity is suggested in the first instance by the sort of terms commonly used to describe Holz's style: significantly, in referring to Holz's example of the falling leaf, the word Heinrich Hart uses to define the process of description is "berichten"; similarly, Hermand talks of a "dokumentarische Echtheit"⁷³ and Martini says of Holz's prose: "es kommt... in die Nähe der nur noch Beobachtungen arrangierenden Reportage."⁷⁴ Essentially, the similarity of style derives from the fact that the striving for truth in Naturalism is reflected in reportage and documentary prose in a concern with authenticity.

In documentary prose, which in the sixties has meant, in general, non-fictional, mostly autobiographical accounts of ordinary people's experiences, the search for authenticity is evident in the attempt to reproduce as exactly as possible the actual language of the people whose experiences are being related. Documentary prose is, in fact, a progression beyond Naturalism in the methodological sense that it overcomes the contradiction at the heart of, for example, Holz's writing. That contradiction resides in the fact that while striving for the highest degree of objectivity, his

work nevertheless remains an essentially fictional construct. That is to say, however consistently or, some may say, rigidly he implemented the principle of verism, the literary product could at best only ever reveal what Martin Walser - who played a large part in encouraging the development of documentary prose - has termed a "nachgemachte Authentizität".⁷⁵ Documentary prose substitutes for this a genuine authenticity as regards not only the mode of narration but also the experiences related in which, as Walser says in the introduction to one of these documentary accounts, "(hier) wird endlich einmal berichtet, nichts als berichtet."⁷⁶ In particular, this development has been made possible by the technological improvement of "the means of reproduction" since it was quickly recognised that linguistic authenticity could be heightened by getting people to record their experiences directly on to a tape recorder and then producing a transcript. Günter Wallraff, for example, says of this method: "Derartige Tonbandabschriften weisen oft erstaunliche Sprachkraft auf, sind der reinen Schreibsprache an Intensität, Informationsgehalt und sozialer Wahrheit überlegen..."⁷⁷ Similarly, when Erika Runge, the editor of taped texts such as Bottroper Protokolle und Frauen. Versuche zur Emanzipation, defines the aim of her editing as "das Wesentliche des gesprochenen Stils zu bewahren",⁷⁸ this then entails in its reproduction of the speaker's hesitations, his or her mistakes and pauses etc., a phonographic depiction of speech similar to that of consequential Naturalism.

As I stressed earlier, however, the exact recording of human speech is not by any means the only or even the most important aspect of Holz's style. Rather it is as essentially a mode of perception that consequential Naturalism derives its significance. This is equally true of reportage,⁷⁹ for like consequential Naturalism its commitment to empiricism as the basis of literary production defines it primarily as a method of perceiving and

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recording reality. The similarity of method is evident from Wilpert's description of reportage as a style which is characterised by "Nähe zur objektiven und dokumentarisch nachprüfaren Wirklichkeit und leidenschaftslos sachliche Schilderung des Details ohne einseitige Tendenz, allenfalls aus der Perspektive des Berichters."⁸⁰ The fact that in modern usage the term reportage is applied to accounts of reality, irrespective of whether they are fictional or actually drawn from real life, merely underlines its relationship to consequential Naturalism. That reportage emphasises the photographic element of depiction is suggested by Siegfried Kracauer's claim that "die Reportage fotografiert das Leben"⁸¹ or Günter Wallraff's comparison of himself as the narrator with a camera.⁸² Wallraff, arguably the most successful, post-war exponent of the reportage, describes in the following way how he developed the technique:

Zu Beginn war alles nur in der Ich-Form und ich notierte alles von meinem subjektiven Empfinden her und nur, was mit mir geschah. Allmählich veränderte sich das aber und ich schrieb auch, was mit den anderen passierte, unabhängig von mir. Ich wurde also zum teilnehmenden Beobachter.⁸³

Wallraff alludes here to the apparent contradiction that Mahal identified in his discussion of "Die papierne Passion": the account of reality is clearly the product of a narrator while at the same time laying claim to objectivity. In fact, in Wallraff's own reportage the narrator intervenes in a way that his comments above do not suggest. That the aim of the reportage is "to let events and conditions speak for themselves" and that its primary concern is with the "Darstellung von Realitätsausschnitten" and "die genau beobachtete und registrierte Wirklichkeit"⁸⁴ - terminology which is, of course, equally applicable to the aim of consequential Naturalism - can be demonstrated by considering a text such as Klas Ewert Everwyn's "Beschreibung eines Betriebsunfalls".⁸⁵

The accident, to which the title refers, involves a Greek "Gastarbeiter" whose hand is caught between the rollers of a large printing press. The report concentrates on the accident itself and the long process of freeing the man from the machine. The way the machine functions, the man's reactions and the various comings and goings of factory personnel are related simply, in detail and without narratorial comment. Moreover, the chronology of the events is strictly adhered to and further enhanced by the use of the present tense and the precise recording of time ("Es ist 22.50 Uhr... Um 23 Uhr sind acht Menschen um den Mann im Halle III versammelt: drei Polizisten mit umgeschnallten Pistolen, vier Feuerwehrmänner in weissen Kitteln und mit einer Bahre sowie der Wachmann... Es ist 23.10 Uhr.")⁸⁶ Throughout the narrator resists any temptation to sensationalise or comment on the action and nowhere is the mood of dispassionate restraint more effectively deployed than in the description of the actual accident:

Er hat lediglich einen Blick auf die Stapel geworfen, die neben der Maschine lagern und dort auf ihren Abtransport warten. Der Blick hat nicht ganz eine Sekunde gedauert. Er hat jedoch ausgereicht, die Aufmerksamkeit und die Wachsamkeit des Mannes zu mindern. Seine Lappenhand ist dabei in den Bereich der Greifer geraten, die plötzlich nicht mehr ins Leere zu greifen brauchen. Sie ziehen den Gegenstand unwiderstehlich in die Richtung ihrer Bewegung.

Der Mann hat nicht den Bruchteil einer Sekunde lang die Möglichkeit, sich zu befreien. Statt dessen muss er zusehen, wie seine Lappenhand mit der ersten Walzenumdrehung zwischen oberer und unterer Walze verschwindet.⁸⁷

To restrict discussion of this text to its intended objectivity, however, is to omit a crucial dimension of reportage. I referred earlier to the fact that Naturalism and reportage shared a common concern with objective truth and authenticity. There is, however, a further underlying motivation which paradoxically both further relates and yet distinguishes the two styles: that is to say, both are concerned to reveal the relationship of cause and effect. But whereas Holz understood by this the idea of

natural causality which, he believed, was not susceptible of any totalising conceptualisation, more often than not the writers who employ the technique of reportage are concerned with social or political causality, in other words, with phenomena whose relationship to life as a totality it is in men's power to grasp and explain. This necessarily has certain consequences for the mode and structure of narration. Firstly, the effect of total randomness, so characteristic of "Die papierne Passion", for example, is not the aim of reportage. Certainly, it aims at typicality but in Everwyn's text, for instance, he presents not a random "slice of life" but a specific event that serves a particular critical intention. Similarly, the clinical description which helps create the effect of objectivity is not for the sake of random detail but often fulfils a definite function. Thus, it is precisely the objectivity of Everwyn's report which itself reflects, and seems appropriate to, the efficiency of the printing-works and the strict dividing of responsibility, which makes the accident seem so much more outrageous, so much more difficult to account for. Similarly, Everwyn's precise recording of the way the machine functions does not simply testify to his knowledge of mechanics, his particular competence to make this report; it also serves to show, by implication, just how remote the efficiency is from the real needs of the workers, in this case their safety. It is precisely the efficiency of the machine which prolongs the worker's suffering since it cannot be turned back to enable him to withdraw his hand. Furthermore, all this wealth of knowledge, useful in terms of productivity, is of no use at all to the doctor. Everwyn, characteristically, does not make this comment himself but it is implicit in the following observation: "Ungefähr diese Auskunft (i.e. the way the machine works, R.A.B.) erhält der Arzt, der nach einer Dreiviertelstunde als erster zur Unfallstelle kommt."⁸⁸ Another example is Everwyn's precise

recording of time. This is not just for the purpose of signifying the inevitable passage of time but is an example of how Everwyn lets the facts draw their own conclusions. The hand becomes caught at 22.50. The worker does not receive a morphium injection until 23.50 and his hand is not removed until 0.25. These facts need no comment. Everwyn's supreme comment, again implicit, is contained in the last four sentences of the passage: "Die Männer verlassen den Schauplatz. Zigaretten werden angezündet. Die kleine Blutlache ist vor der Maschine zurückgeblieben. Wenn alle anderen gegangen sein werden, wird sie der Wachmann aufwischen."⁸⁹

Furthermore, in addition to the problem of selectivity, the intention to illustrate social causality often has consequences for the structure of the reportage. As I argued earlier, it is, of course, impossible to eliminate totally the structuring presence of the narrator - a fact which Holz himself was surely aware of when referring to his "arrangierendes und Alles umkrempelndes and zurechtbastelndes Ich"⁹⁰ - but in Holz's objectivist sketches at least, that presence rarely imparts to the events described the degree of overall meaning and coherence that the narrator of the reportage often seeks to impose on his material. Thus, Everwyn's division of his report into four sections, "Die Maschine", "Der Mann", "Der Mann und die Maschine", and "die anderen", clearly invites the reader to draw certain conclusions about the incident. Similarly, Wallraff, while continuing to stress the need for authenticity, empirical inquiry and precise observation, quickly realised that the structural principle of montage, while not detracting from those qualities, would help him achieve the interpretative (i.e. political) effectiveness he was aiming for in his reportage.⁹¹ That is to say, by structuring his material in a certain way he could lead the reader to the conclusion he wished him to reach, without himself directly articulating that conclusion.

These distinctions are naturally very important. However, they do not, I believe, invalidate the relationship between Holz's consequential Naturalism and reportage as a mode of perceiving and creating a fictional reality. The real paradox is to be found in the fact that whereas Holz's concern with form and consequential Naturalism was accompanied by (and was, perhaps, even to a certain extent determined by) the decline of his earlier political aims, it was in the pursuit of precisely those political aims that certain writers subsequently turned to a literary style similar to that which Holz had pioneered. In fact, I regard as not totally untenable the definition of reportage as the method of consequential Naturalism allied to a political or social intention.

If, as I believe they are, the objectivist tendencies of Naturalism are restricted in their resonance in the twentieth century to the quasi-genre of reportage, then it is surely not an irrelevant question to ask why this should be so. Moreover, at least three reasons can be identified. The first can be located in the actual critical reception of Naturalism in which, as I hinted earlier, there is at least one particular tradition that has displayed an unremitting hostility. The tradition to which I refer is that of Marxist aesthetics which, significantly, first began to emerge in any vaguely systematised form in Germany as a result of the Naturalism debate in the 1890s. While certain of the criticisms have often been made by non-Marxist writers as well and although there is obviously no one unitary Marxist theory on Naturalism, it is nevertheless useful to summarise the main points of the Marxist critique since it perhaps indicates certain characteristics of Naturalism which may have discouraged later writers from appropriating and developing its style.

In broad terms it is possible to identify two major variants within Marxist aesthetics in the twentieth century and while they may diverge

radically as regards the forms of artistic practice they prescribe, they nevertheless converge in their rejection of Naturalism as a literary model. The first of these, associated primarily with Bertolt Brecht, is a theory stressing the direct cognitive relevance of art and which intentionally transcends the confines of literature as a passive object with which the reader has a purely contemplative relationship. It sees literature less as a simple refraction of reality than as a mode of practice which aims at changing that reality. Art should, therefore, portray the relationship between men and the external forces which determine men, in such a way as to show that, through social action deriving from the knowledge of that relationship, man can in turn master those external forces. Naturalism, it is claimed, cannot do this for two reasons: firstly, the Naturalist belief in mechanical causality resulted in a portrayal of man as a purely passive product of circumstances without the knowledge or power to change those circumstances; secondly, by striving to create the total illusion of reality Naturalism aims at the identity of subject and object in the sense that the reader (or spectator) is invited to identify only with the consciousness of the characters and obtains no supra-fictional awareness.

The second branch of Marxist aesthetics derives from Marx's model of base and superstructure which posits a degree of correspondence between ideas and social formations. These aesthetics explore the work of art as the reflection of this relationship. Even within this group the model has led various theorists to differing conclusions. However, I would like to consider briefly one particular model, namely, Lukács's theory of reflection, not only because Lukács's writings contain a systematic critique of Naturalism but also because they illuminate further the suggested relationship between Naturalism and reportage.⁹²

Lukács recognises as his basic premise the existence of an objective

reality independent of human consciousness. Bourgeois epistemology, he argues, fails to grasp this relationship by one-sidedly emphasising the priority of one over the other. This results in the "twin errors" of mechanical materialism and philosophical idealism, since in both there is an irreconcilable separation between the ideal and the material world. For whereas the latter isolates the world of ideas from material reality as an autonomous entity, the former remains solely on the surface of the material world never transcending the level of appearances. Moreover, both tendencies have their counterparts in aesthetics: the subjectivism of idealism is reflected, for example, in Expressionism, the "denial of reality by 'abstracting it out of existence'", whereas mechanical materialism in art is represented by Naturalism.

Crucial to an understanding of Lukács's aesthetics, and in particular to that of his critique of Naturalism, is the concept of totality which he introduced into dialectical philosophy early in the twenties. Essentially, this is an epistemological category based on the distinction between the isolated fact and overall reality, that is to say, between the empirical existence of an individual fact and its meaning within a network of relations. For, Lukács argues in Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein: "Erst in diesem Zusammenhang, der die einzelnen Tatsachen des gesellschaftlichen Lebens als Momente der geschichtlichen Entwicklung in eine Totalität einfügt, wird eine Erkenntnis der Tatsachen, als Erkenntnis der Wirklichkeit möglich."⁹³ From this relationship of the individual fact to the totality Lukács developed the category of "typicality" in which the individual fact, seen from the perspective of the laws and relationship in which it is embedded, acquires a status which raises it from the individual and empirical level to a position where it is seen to contain within itself the laws and relationships which are external to it or is seen to be an

illustration of those relationships. The part becomes, as it were, the mirror of the whole. All reflections of reality, he argues, rest on this contradiction between the particular and the universal, the concrete and the abstract and it is the special quality of great art to be able to reconcile this contradiction. Every significant work of art, therefore, creates its own "self-contained" world in which "the universal appears as a quality of the individual and the particular" and in which the process of life is reflected "in motion and in concrete dynamic context". The great work of art, therefore, is the one which unites the two concepts of totality and typicality:

Indem der Künstler Einzelmenschen und Einzelsituationen gestaltet, erweckt er den Schein des Lebens. Indem er sie zu exemplarischen Menschen, Situationen (Einheit des Individuellen und Typischen) gestaltet, indem er einen möglichst grossen Reichtum der objektiven Bestimmungen des Lebens als Einzelzüge individueller Menschen und Situationen unmittelbar erlebbar macht, entsteht seine 'eigene Welt', die gerade darum die Widerspiegelung des Lebens in seiner bewegten Gesamtheit, des Lebens als Prozess und Totalität ist, weil sie in ihrer Gesamtheit und in ihren Details die gewöhnliche Widerspiegelung der Lebensvorgänge durch den Menschen steigert und überbietet.⁹⁴

This "common reflection of life" is the limit of Naturalism's achievement, that is to say, it strives to reflect not an intensive but an extensive totality of life which Lukács deems as necessarily beyond the possible scope of any artistic creation. It aims, therefore, at the mechanical imitation of the immediate world of phenomena which Lukács considers merely a "pseudo-objectivity." Nowhere is this better illustrated than in Naturalism's attitude to detail. The artistic correctness of a particular detail is not, he says, contingent on its authenticity, i.e. whether it corresponds to any similar detail in reality, but rather on its relationship to the total process of objective reality, in a word, on its degree of representative significance. This notion of typicality is, of course, alien to Naturalism since its method of photographic reproduction of reality

is based on the idea that all details are of equal significance. Furthermore, Naturalism aims at randomness, not selectivity and a restrictive typicality.

If we now turn to Lukács's critique of reportage⁹⁵ - although we must be mindful of the historical circumstances in which it was written⁹⁶ - we notice a striking similarity with that of Naturalism. Lukács begins by establishing a relationship between the emergence of the documentary form and the development of the late bourgeois novel. He argues that the ever widening dichotomy of the individual and society led the bourgeois novel to concentrate on individual psychology and left it incapable of relating this to the wider configuration of social relationships. Reportage with its fixation on the factual he sees as a further manifestation of that tendency; its "fetishistic dissection" of reality evidences only an inability to perceive in the phenomena of social life relations between men. In short, it fails to reflect life as a totality. Nor can reportage meet the demand of typicality. In his critique of reportage Lukács distinguishes two forms of typicality, namely, scientific and artistic typicality. Scientific typicality serves to enlighten the relationships surrounding the individual fact and makes this individual fact an example or illustration of them, whereas in artistic typicality the individual is not an example of general laws but contains them ("In der Gestaltung muss das Individuum, das individuelle Schicksal als solches typisch erscheinen, d.h. die klassenmässigen Züge als individuelle enthalten".)⁹⁷ The essential thing about these two forms of typicality, Lukács insists, is that they are not mutually interchangeable but are restricted to their respective spheres of science and art. This insistence on the separate identity of science and art is at the heart of his critique, both of reportage and Naturalism:

eine künstlerische Darstellung mit wissenschaftlichen Zielen wird stets sowohl eine Pseudowissenschaft wie eine Pseudokunst sein, und eine 'wissenschaftliche' Lösung der spezifisch künstlerischen Aufgaben ergibt ebenso inhaltlich eine Pseudowissenschaft und formell eine Pseudokunst.⁹⁸

The preoccupation of Naturalism and reportage with the factual and the empirical reveals only surface reality and conceals the "real and essential driving forces of social reality in its totality." It is not that their artistic representation lacks authenticity; it is simply that they provide an uncritical, incomplete and static reflection of reality.

Clearly, the terminology of these essays is peculiar to Lukács; his conclusions, however, are not. That is to say, Lukács's fundamental dichotomy of Naturalism and realism as a differentiation between a style which describes at surface reality and one which penetrates through and beyond appearance to an essentially significant reality, is a distinction which many writers have asserted, however differently they may have chosen to formulate it.

The second reason why consequential Naturalism as an objectivist tendency appears to have remained a more or less unique literary phenomenon is that essentially literature is not the medium to which this style is inherently suited. It is surely not incidental that the literary form which best accommodates the style is that of the short prose-form, namely, the sketch or the reportage. Significantly, Holz abandoned his own attempt to write a novel and undoubtedly, when applying this style to longer fiction, the main problem is that the continual amassing of detail becomes either overpoweringly disorientating or merely wearisome. Similarly, its concern with the random and the everyday makes it a most hazardous theatrical proposition since it would be almost impossible to sustain dramatic interest. In any case, the obvious artificialities of the stage make drama a medium which is, in many ways, the least amenable to creating the

illusion of reality. That illusion is surely most successfully evoked not in drama but in film and it is a nice irony that historically it was, in fact, with the end of Naturalism that film emerged as an art form. Indeed, the historical relationship of Naturalism and film could well serve to illustrate Walter Benjamin's thesis on the genesis of new art forms: "Die Geschichte jeder Kunstform hat kritische Zeiten, in denen diese Form auf Effekte hindrängt, die sich zwanglos erst bei einem veränderten technischen Standard, das heisst in einer neuen Kunstform ergeben können."⁹⁹ Thus, one need only think of the technique of "cinema vérité", of the Naturalist style of a director such as John Cassavetes or Ken Loach or, more specifically, of a film like Walter Ruttmann's Berlin, die Symphonie einer Grossstadt¹⁰⁰ to recognise just to what extent film is the real artistic province of consequential Naturalism.

There is, finally, a third reason why the objectivist tendencies of Holz's style have historically been restricted in Germany to Naturalism. In my discussion of Martini's analysis of "Papa Hamlet" I suggested that the objectivist tendencies which he identifies are only present in some of Holz's sketches and that "Papa Hamlet" is not, in fact, one of those. The obvious question, therefore, is: why did Martini not illustrate his argument with a sketch such as "Die papierne Passion", which would have substantiated his thesis with much less difficulty? The answer, however, is equally obvious: basically "Papa Hamlet" is a substantially richer and more complex, artistic achievement. This is, I believe, also true of the respective tendencies these two sketches represent. Holz developed the objectivist possibilities of consequential Naturalism almost as far as is conceivable within literature. Lukács - although, of course, he intends it as a criticism - has not been alone in observing that the real legacy of Naturalism lies in a quite different area:

Die Methode der Beobachtung und der Beschreibung entsteht mit der Absicht, die Literatur wissenschaftlich zu machen, die Literatur in eine angewandte Naturwissenschaft, in eine Soziologie zu verwandeln. Aber die sozialen Momente, die durch Beobachtungen erfasst und durch Beschreibung gestaltet wurden, sind so ärmlich, so dünn und schematisch, dass sie sehr bald und sehr leicht in ihren polaren Gegensatz, in einen vollendeten Subjektivismus umschlagen konnten.¹⁰¹

It is the aim of the following section to illustrate in what direction those subjectivist tendencies can be developed.

(ii) THE SUBJECTIVIST MODE

Ob ich eine Statue meissle, oder ein lyrisches Gedicht schreibe - der eigentliche Mechanismus ist in beiden Fällen genau derselbe. In beiden Fällen reproduziere ich mit dem und dem Material ein "Stück Natur". Denn ein solches ist nicht bloss, im Original, jener "Hirtenknabe, die Flöte blasend", den ich hier als erste, vorläufige Skizze in Ton knete, sondern ein solches ist, genau so, auch jene eigentümliche Stimmung, die mich überrieselt, wenn ich zufällig so einen Burschen auf seinem Rohr spielen höre. Und inwiefern ich mich nun mit meinen beiden Werken, der Skulptur und dem Gedicht, der Natur gegenüber in dem einen Falle "bildend" verhalten habe, in dem anderen aber nicht, ist mir nicht recht einleuchtend. In beiden Fällen, sagt mir mein Wissen, habe ich nachgemacht. Oder, wenn das so besser gefällt, wiedergegeben. Es kommt hier auf eins heraus. Und mein Werk erscheint mir infolgedessen auch um so vorzüglicher, je mehr ich mir glaube einreden zu dürfen, dass diese Prozedur mir gelungen ist. Was sagt da "subjektiv", was sagt da "objektiv"? Nichts! Das sind hier Messer ohne Klingen, die keinen Griff haben. Ich will Ihnen einen Vorschlag machen: nämlich lassen wir diese beiden Wörtchen "subjektiv" und "objektiv" doch lieber ganz aus dem Spiel. Sie drücken Werte aus, die in der Kunst keinen Kurs haben.¹

This quotation, from an essay that Holz published in 1896, illustrates once again two central aspects of his writing. Firstly, it emphasises how imprecise was Holz's conceptualisation of the relationship between subjectivity and objectivity. Certainly, whether, as in other statements, insisting on their crucial importance² or, as on this occasion, denying their absolute validity for the process of literary creation, Holz's at times blatantly contradictory theoretical writings are nevertheless informed by the need to come to terms with these two concepts. Secondly, the above quotation testifies once more to the primacy of nature for Holz as the object of artistic production. As far as the subjectivist interpretation of Holz's work is concerned, these two points are both of significance. For if it is Holz's theoretical ambiguity which has, perhaps, suggested to certain writers a subjectivist understanding of Holz's work, then it is his concept of "nature" that has provided the starting-point, from which they have sought to demonstrate the validity of their analysis.

Raymond Williams has said of "nature" that it is, perhaps, the most

complex word in the English language. Moreover, of the three areas of meaning that Williams distinguishes, it is his third definition, namely, "nature" as "the material world itself, taken as including or not including human beings",³ which points to precisely what has proven problematical in Holz's usage of the term. In the previous chapter I showed that the conventional wisdom understood Holz to mean by "nature" those external phenomena that are directly perceivable by the senses and that it thus saw his law as defining art as the mimetic reproduction of those phenomena. In the last twenty years, an alternative critical reception, deriving primarily from the work of Hans-Georg Rappl,⁴ has developed that rejects this mode of analysis. It points out that not only was Holz himself aware that an exact reproduction of reality was impossible ("das strittige "x" wird sich niemals auf Null reduzieren"... "Eine völlig exakte Reproduktion der Natur durch die Kunst ist ein Ding der absoluten Unmöglichkeit"⁵) but also he appeared fundamentally to reject those concepts, such as "photographic" reproduction or "Nachahmung",⁶ which imply a purely imitative representation of reality. Moreover, Emrich has argued, such a view reduces Holz's theory purely to the level of a programmatic demand for Naturalism, whereas Holz was, in fact, aiming at a totalising conceptualisation of art as such, one which, Emrich insists, has been of vital relevance to all subsequent developments in modern art.⁷ However, what is normally adduced as the conclusive proof that Holz's basic intention was never simply a restrictive verism, is the fact that Holz subsequently reformulated the law,⁸ given in Die Kunst. Ihr Wesen und ihre Gesetze, as follows: "Die Kunst hat die Tendenz, die Natur zu sein; sie wird sie nach Massgabe ihrer Mittel und deren Handhabung."⁹ In this version of the law Holz omitted the two offending words, "wieder" and "Reproduktionsbedingungen", which, it is claimed, had misled critics into seeing his theory as a

demand for the imitation of empirical reality. This implies a much more expansive conception of nature such that, in reply to one of his critics' objections to his "Kunstgesetz", Holz could ask rhetorically: "Ist denn, frage ich, die Empfindung, die ein Sonnenuntergang in mir wachruft, kein Naturvorgang?"¹⁰ and insist that by reality he meant "Wirklichkeit unter selbstverständlichem Einbegriff aller unserer Innenvorgänge".¹¹ By nature, therefore, Emrich argues, Holz meant the whole of the spiritual, social and physical world, including the realm of dreams and imagination, in so far as it is ever experienced by any single individual or artist;¹² or, to use Schulz's words, "die Summe alles Äusseren und Inneren, nicht nur des sinnlich Wahrgenommenen, sondern auch des seelisch Empfundenen, Erlebten und des Gedachten".¹³ Holz himself makes a significant remark on this subject in response to yet another critic of his "Kunstgesetz":

Zu jeder Wirkung gehört nun einmal ausser dem betreffenden O b j e k t auch noch ein S u b j e k t... Herr Möller-Bruck verschimpft meine Formel $K=N+x$ in " $K=N+y$ ", indem er " $+y$ " = "Vorstellungsbild" setzt, und in seiner Einfalt (...) ahnt er nicht einmal, dass dieses "Plus", dieses "Vorstellungsbild", mit meinem N einfach identisch ist. Als ob schon je ein Mensch irgendein Ding selbst reproduziert hätte und nicht bloss immer sein betreffendes Vorstellungsbild¹⁴

However, by situating the process of artistic creation and reception concretely in the subject/object relationship, Holz was not only affirming inner responses as an essential component of the artistic representation of reality, but also was implicitly posing a fundamental question about the nature of the human experience of reality. That is to say, taken to its logical conclusion, the subjectivist view of Holz's theory argues that his starting-point was not an objective reality, existing independently of the mediating subject, but a reality that can only take form as a reflection in the mind. Thus, for John Osborne, it is essentially an epistemological divergency which lies at the heart of the whole aesthetic debate between Holz and Zola, a divergency, moreover, which Osborne sees

as being causally related to the respective traditions in which Holz and Zola are located:

The tradition in which Zola wrote - the tradition of Balzac, Stendhal and the French Realists - accepts that there is a substantial external reality, as distinct from our subjective image of it, and Zola's theory demands that the artist should not lose touch with this reality... The impression given by Holz's theory is that he is less confident about the existence of such a reality; and this is equally characteristic of the German tradition in which he stands. As his theory develops Holz displays an increasingly monistic tendency to identify nature with its reflection in the mind of the individual, or with the sensation it arouses in him...¹⁵

Certainly, some of Holz's theoretical pronouncements, such as "es gibt für uns Menschen keine Kunst an sich wie es für uns Menschen keine Natur an sich gibt",¹⁶ would appear to corroborate this view. Moreover, such an interpretation would also imbue his "Kunstgesetz" with a greater subtlety of meaning, at least as regards his primary concern, literature. For, as Pascal points out, words can never "reproduce reality" if, that is, we understand reality as an objective situation or event. Rather words are, in essence, the medium for expressing and communicating the experience of reality.¹⁷

The application of these thoughts to Holz's creative writing reveals a whole new dimension to his imaginative prose. Or, to be more precise, the two sketches, "Papa Hamlet" and "Der erste Schultag", possess a dimension not evident in the sketches of the objectivist category. That is to say, in "Papa Hamlet" and "Der erste Schultag" the reader is confronted not primarily with the presentation of a single, objective reality but rather with a multiplicity of realities, with a reality, that is, viewed from various perspectives. Stylistically, "Papa Hamlet" and "Der erste Schultag" still display those features common to the objectivist sketches and normally associated with the term, "Sekundenstil", i.e. the concreteness and meticulous detail of description etc., although, as I shall argue

later, within a subjectivist interpretation they may take on a quite radically different function. What distinguishes the two types of sketch, however, is the absence in the objectivist type of any suggestion of multiperspectivity, for it is only in the subjectivist sketches that Holz deploys the literary technique responsible for that effect. In short, any meaningful analysis of "Papa Hamlet" and "Der erste Schultag" must start with a re-examination of one of the stylistic features already discussed in conjunction with the objectivist sketches, namely, narrative perspective.

Basically, what I am concerned with is the technique which is known in German as "erlebte Rede". It is necessary at this point, therefore to acknowledge the debt owed to the work of Roy Pascal, since he has provided both definitional analysis of the device and close textual examination of its use, not only in the nineteenth-century European novel but also specifically in the work of Arno Holz. As will become apparent later, however, the conclusion I draw as regards its ultimate effect in Holz's work differs substantially from that of Pascal and since an important part of his argument revolves around the question of correct terminology, it is first of all necessary to clarify the terms I apply as well as the general problematic to which this discussion addresses itself.

Käte Hamburger expresses the problem in its most generalised form in the following statement: "Die epische Fiktion ist der einzige erkenntnistheoretische Ort, wo die Ich-Originalität (oder Subjektivität) einer dritten Person als einer dritten dargestellt werden kann."¹⁸ In the traditional narrative mode - and, indeed, in that of Holz's objectivist sketches such as "Die papierne Passion" - the sole perspective is that of the narrator; the narration thus consists of description, possibly including direct authorial comment, punctuated by the statements or views of characters, which are either produced in direct speech with the appropriate

punctuation or condensed and presented by the narrator prefaced with such phrases as "he thought" etc. Such a mode, however, does not provide the means with which to present satisfactorily the inner life of fictional characters. This requirement is best fulfilled by another narrative mode¹⁹ of which two aspects can be distinguished. The first is what I wish to call "perspectivised narration", namely, where a perspective (in contradistinction to a voice) other than the narrator's is asserted. Here the reader learns how a particular character experiences a thing, but, primarily, as interpreted and expressed by the narrator: the actual experience is the character's, the interpretation and mediation of that experience the narrator's. The second element of this narrative mode is where not merely the experiential level but also the actual voice is that of the character, not the narrator. It is above all this process, in which the thoughts and language of the characters are interwoven, without explicit differentiation, with those of the narratorial voice, that produces the effect of multiperspectivity. Moreover, it is this second feature that Pascal is concerned to define in The Dual Voice.²⁰ Locating its origin in French and German literary criticism, he contrasts the two terms, "Le style indirect libre" and "erlebte Rede". The main difference between the two, he suggests, is that the former describes the supposed grammatical characteristics of the phenomenon, while the latter relates to its alleged psychological operation.²¹ Pascal himself adopts the term "free indirect speech", attributing to it two distinctive features: firstly, it has the syntactical form of a normal narratorial statement and secondly, it represents the fusion of two voices, namely, that of a character and the narrator, hence the eponymous "dual voice". It is, however, precisely this effect that I wish to convey with my term "perspectivised narration", i.e. the double presence in a statement of characterial experience and, predominantly, narratorial voice. For the

other aspect I have identified, where, I would argue, the interpreting intermediary is eliminated and the character, as it were, momentarily deposes the narrator, I will use the term "free indirect style". The crucial feature I would stress of both "perspectivised narration" and "free indirect style" is that they communicate experience not objective information. As such this can have the effect of diluting the narrative's focal certainty as, for example, in "Papa Hamlet", where it is often difficult to differentiate between characterial voice and narratorial irony. The significance of this emphasis, however, particularly as regards the conclusions Pascal draws about this narrative mode, will be more apparent after discussion of the function that the technique fulfils in the work of Arno Holz.

Before considering Holz's development of this technique in his literary practice, however, it is illuminating to return briefly to his theoretical writings. Although the use of the free indirect style can be found, for instance, in Goethe and makes a spasmodic appearance in nineteenth-century, European literature (Jane Austen, Flaubert, Zola), historically it is only in the twentieth century that the technique has been consistently developed both in creative practice and in literary theory. Thus, Pascal can say of Holz's use of the multiple perspective in "Papa Hamlet" that "it is one of the most significant German anticipations in the nineteenth century of a distinguishing peculiarity of modern narrative fiction".²² There was, furthermore, at that time no systematic explication of the principles of narrative perspective which could have provided Holz with the theoretical basis for his use of the free indirect style.²³ Nor, it must be added, do Holz's own writings contain any such exposition. They do, however, reveal certain pertinent generalisations that evince a degree of awareness as to the question of narrative perspective. The first occurs in Die Kunst. Ihr Wesen und ihre Gesetze, where Holz describes how his concern with

aesthetic theory (prior to the composition of the sketches) arose. He relates how he had been captivated by certain sentences in his autobiographical novel, Goldene Zeiten, an account of his childhood that he had begun in 1887. One sentence, in particular, affords him great satisfaction: "In Holland mussten die Paradiesvögel entschieden schöner pfeifen und die Johannisbrotbäume noch viel, viel wilder wachsen".²⁴ The source of the charm, Holz deduces, lies in the fact that there he was able to reduce to a minimum his "arrangierendes und Alles umkrempeelndes und zurechtbastelndes Ich".²⁵ That is to say, he was able to eliminate the momentary temperament of himself, the writer, and evoke the actual response to the world he experienced as the child. This elimination of the author's consciousness is, in fact, effected by Holz's use of the free indirect style.

The second reference to this technique is contained in a memorandum written by Johannes Schlaf which Holz quotes in Vol. 10 of Das Werk. In his account of how the collaboration between the two writers began, Schlaf observes at one point:

Holz war damals dahin gekommen, dem Zolaschen Satze 'Un chef d'oeuvre est un coin de la nature vu à travers un tempérament' den anderen gegenüberzustellen: Ein Kunstwerk ist ein Stück Leben, angesehen nicht durch das Temperament des Künstlers, sondern aller der Personen, die er geben will.²⁶

This remark shows that even if Holz was not able adequately to theorise the problems of narrative perspective, he was at any rate aware of it and thus that the use of the free indirect style in his prose-writing was not a fortuitous but a conscious one.

Holz's sketch "Der erste Schultag" is, in fact, the only part of Goldene Zeiten that was ever published. It is an account of a young boy's first day at school and is divided structurally into three episodes: the morning class in which one of his fellow-pupils is terrorised by the sadistic headmaster, Jonathan's visit to the nearby fair and finally the discovery

on visiting his old friend, the herbalist, that the latter is sitting dead in his chair. These experiences are related very much (but not exclusively) from the perspective of the young boy; the story's last sentence, for example, "Das war dem kleinen Jonathan sein erster Schultag"²⁷ not only sums up the events described but does so in a manner applicable to that of the experiencing subject, the young boy himself. The best example in this sketch of Holz's use of the free indirect style occurs, however, in the opening scene. The young boys in the class, all beginners like Jonathan, are compelled by Rector Borchert to maintain an absolute silence, a feat rendered impossible not only by the sheer duration of the demanded passiveness but also by the boys' excitement at the prospect of visiting the fair in the nearby town. The strain, caused by the knowledge that the slightest movement will earn them a beating, is broken by the nervous laughter of a Jewish boy, Lewin, which, as Borchert calls the boy to him for punishment, develops into a hysterical fit:

Der Herr Rector Borchert hatte sich jetzt aufrecht mitten auf sein Podium gestellt. Seine Lippen waren weiss geworden. Seine kleinen, spitzen Zähne knurrschten, als ob er an etwas kaute.

"Herkommen, Knubbel?!"

Aber der kleine Lewin hörte nichts mehr. Er lachte nur immer und lachte und lachte. . . Jetzt endlich war der Geduldsfaden des Herrn Rector Borchert mitten entzwei gerissen! Mit einem Satz war er auf den wahnsinnigen Judenhund zugesprungen, hatte ihn an seinem schmierigen Jackenkragen zu packen gekriegt und schleifte ihn nun wutschnaubend auf sein Katheder.

"So ein Hund!! So ein Hund!!!"

Die "Knubbels", die wieder ganz mückchenstill geworden waren, hatten alle unwillkürlich ihre Augen fest zugemacht. Die ganze, grosse, rote Stube schwamm jetzt in Blut. In Blut. Oh! . . .

Da!!

Plötzlich, mitten durch all das grausenhafte Schnauben und Gurgeln vorn, hatte draussen vom Flur her deutlich ein feines, schrilles Glöckchen angeschlagen. Kein "Knubbel", der nicht jetzt seine kleinen, rosa Öhrchen spitzte! Das reine Christglöckchen! Es klingelte jetzt, dass er nur so eine Art hatte. Ja! Ja! Das war der Herr Spaarmann, der liebe, gute Herr Spaarmann! Der Herr Spaarmann! Jetzt brauchten sie nicht mehr zu sterben. Jetzt was die schreckliche, schreckliche Stunde aus. Jetzt. . . Oh! Der Herr Spaarmann! ²⁸

At first sight this appears a straightforward piece of narratorial description,

marked only by the odd hint of omniscience such as when we are told that the pupils all shut their eyes "involuntarily". A closer inspection, however, reveals that the passage is not just objective information given from a narratorial position. The very formal "Der Herr Rektor Borchert" may seem rather wooden and conspicuous until we remember that it would be precisely that form with which the boys would be required to address and to refer to him. More unmistakably "den wahrsinnigen Judenhund" cannot possibly derive from the narratorial vocabulary but is part of Borchert's language, as surely as is the explicitly accredited "So ein Hund". Similarly, the "jetzt endlich" is not just a purely temporal reference but expresses Borchert's felt exasperation as his patience runs out. The "unwillkürlich" signals the return of the narrator in his omniscient guise, but the following line marks a further shift in perspective: "Die ganze, grosse, rote Stube schwamm jetzt in Blut." Literally, of course, this cannot be true, nor even if it were, would the narrator be likely to communicate it to the reader in this manner; it works equally badly if understood as an image, for not only would it be totally incongruous with the detached tone of observation the narrator adopts elsewhere but we have, in any case, already been informed earlier that the colour of the schoolroom is blue. The only possible explanation, therefore, is that the perspective is now that of the boys and, as Pascal explains, what we have in this sentence is the effect of their fright and terror, when they squeeze their eyelids together so hard that their vision floods with red.²⁹ This is an excellent example of what I termed "perspectivised narration", for clearly these particular words are neither said nor even thought by the boys. Rather it is their experience of the moment, but filtered through the mediating voice of the narrator. Moreover, this perspective is not just a momentary one for the "Oh" and "Da" clearly convey their feelings of terror and subsequent relief

as they hear the schoolbell. The "grausenhafte Schnauben und Gurgeln" cannot, therefore, be taken as objective description but as their subjective experience of the noises in the room. In their predicament the ringing of the bell does for them literally mean salvation. Thus, whether the porter, Herr Spaarmann, is, in fact, "good" and "kind" is uncertain; to the boys he can appear so since it is he who brings the "terrible hour" to its official end. This passage as a whole, therefore, provides a good illustration of the technique of perspectivised narration.³⁰

This constant shift of perspective, it must be added, is not merely an artistic refinement but is central to the substance of the narration. Failure to perceive it may have interpretational consequences. Thus, Borchardt can write of the "Totprüglung"³¹ and Osborne of the "violent assault"³² of the Jewish boy by the schoolmaster, whereas, in fact, as Pascal points out, the boy is not beaten at all, for his fit saves him.³³ Thus, when we read in the text "Jetzt schlug er ihn tot",³⁴ this is not narratorial comment but, as the preceding word "Gewiss!" emphasises, Jonathan's horrified thought, given in the form of the free indirect style, that the boy will be beaten to death. Elsewhere in the sketch Holz's use of the technique is much more spasmodic and, perhaps, the fact that even here he still felt the need to put certain words in inverted commas is evidence that he was as yet only tentatively applying the style. In "Papa Hamlet" it is more consistently used and ultimately more effective.

Significantly, the sketch even opens in the following manner: "Was? Das war Niels Thienwiebel? Niels Thienwiebel, der grosse, unübertroffene Hamlet aus Trondhjem? Ich esse Luft und werde mit Versprechungen gestopft? Man kann Kapaunen nicht besser mästen?..."³⁵ So even in the first sentence the reader finds not, as he perhaps might expect, a simple introductory remark by the narrator, nor even a piece of dialogue between the characters,

but, as the "Ich" reveals, the words in free indirect style of the eponymous main character. Thienwiebel's perspective is, in fact, constantly in evidence throughout the story, both in relation to other characters and objects: we read, for instance, that Thienwiebel closes not a particular Shakespeare volume but "seinen William",³⁶ while his son is referred to not as the young child but as "der kleine Krebsrote"³⁷ or "dem kleinen zappelnden Wurm".³⁸ Often, too, characters are enveloped in the illusion of Thienwiebel's Shakespearean make-believe world so that in the middle of one of his soliloquies, for example, we read: "Der kleine Fortinbras war jetzt ganz ernsthaft geworden. Er hatte seinen grossen Papa noch nie so menschlich mit ihm reden hören."³⁹ This could be narratorial irony. Equally it could be the product of Thienwiebel's imagination, since, so convinced is he by his own imaginings, that he tries to teach the child to talk, despite the fact that it is only three months old. The location of the perspective in a character, however, is by no means limited to Thienwiebel, although, since he is the main figure and only rarely out of focus, his is the one which, with the exception of the narrator's, predominates. Often, however, the perspective shifts to his wife, Amalie, or to lesser characters such as Ole Nissen and Frau Wachtel. On some occasions one could even say that the perspective is entrusted to characters that do not actually appear in the story, as in the following description of Amalie:

Ihre dünnen lehmfarbenen Haare waren noch nicht gemacht, ihre Nachtschleier schien heute noch schmutziger als sonst und stand vorn natürlich wieder offen; der kleine kirschrote Spiessbürger, den sie, auf ihr Fussbänkchen gekauert, nachlässig aus einem Gummischlauch saugte, sah auf einmal hässlich aus wie ein kleiner Frosch.⁴⁰

Undoubtedly, the description of the child, with its peculiar analogy with a frog and its characteristic language, belongs to Thienwiebel; but the slightly moralising irony of the "natürlich wieder" and the "noch schmutziger als sonst" is surely not part of Thienwiebel's response, for he

would be hardly likely to notice or care about the untidiness of Amalie's appearance. More probably, therefore, this is the impression of a neighbour or frequent visitor to the Thienwiebel's household. The uncertainty, as on this occasion, as to who is the author of a particular statement, is not, however, a weakness of the style; rather it is an enrichment of the text, a constant reminder of the complexity of subjective experience. Indeed, one might say that the use of the free indirect style is all the more effective precisely when the perspective is not lodged firmly in one character. Section IV of "Papa Hamlet", in particular, provides good examples of this "shifting perspective":

Der alten, lieben, guten Frau Wachtel aber war damit ein sehr grosser Stein vom Herzen gefallen. Sie hatte nämlich die niedliche kleine Mieke einmal dabei ertappt, als sie dem abscheulichen Ole grade Modell stand, und da sie hierfür wirklich auch nicht das mindeste Verständnis besass, ein gewisses, kleines Vorurteil gegen sie gefasst. Ihr gutes Herz zu betätigen hatte sie in letzter Zeit leider nur zu wenig Gelegenheit gehabt. Am unzufriedensten aber war sie jedenfalls mit den dummen Thienwiebels. Was bei der alten Schlamperei dort schliesslich rauskommen musste, konnte man sich ja an den Fingern abzählen. Der alte, alberne Kerl flözte sich den ganzen Tag auf dem Sofa rum und trieb Faxen, das faule, schwindsüchtige Frauenzimmer hatte nicht einmal Zeit, seinem Schreissack das bisschen blaue Milch zu geben, zu fressen hatten sie alle drei nichts, und die Miete - ach, du lieber Gott! Wenn man nicht wenigstens noch die paar Sparkreeten gehabt hätte...⁴¹

In the first paragraph we are introduced to Frau Wachtel, but very much as a projection of the narrator's attitude to her, as evidenced by the obvious sarcasm of the "liebe, gute Frau Wachtel" and the stressing of her philistinism as the cause for her dislike of the Thienwiebels. Even here, however, Frau Wachtel's own perspective asserts itself momentarily for the "abscheulich" represents her opinion of Ole and not the narrator's. In the second paragraph the irony is continued but once again the "leider" and "dummen" signal the presence of the landlady's own voice so that gradually she herself takes over the perspective altogether. The slangy level of speech, the dialect and, above all, the vehement indignation at the

Thienwiebel's behaviour reveals the rest of the passage as free indirect style that is in no way qualified by any narratorial presence.

In fact, in passages such as this, where it is not just a case of other characters' thoughts and views merely mingling with those of the narrator but actually of the narratorial voice being totally suppressed in favour of the consciousness of one of the characters, the question arises as to whether, in this context, free indirect style is a sufficiently differentiated term and whether this quantitative change does not, in fact, require a separate term to denote a qualitative distinction. Pascal addresses himself to this question in his discussion of the following passage from "Papa Hamlet" that illustrates this very tendency:

Seit ihr zweiter, unliebenswürdiger Gatte ihr vor ungefähr fünf Jahren auf der "Dicken Selma" treulos nach Kanada ausgerückt war, hatte die liebe, gute, alte Frau Wachtel keinen solchen Ärger mehr auszustehen gehabt. Nicht bloss, dass seine Stiefelabsätze noch überall auf dem Sofa deutlich zu sehen waren, nicht bloss, dass das Fensterkreuz von den dämlichen Leiterstücken, die jetzt natürlich zerbrochen unten auf dem Pappdach lagen, total ruiniert war, bewahre: auch die ganze Tape-te war von oben bis unten mit Ölfarben bekleckst! Der vermaledeite knirpsige Schmierpeter schien sich die ganze Zeit dran seine schwein'-schen Pinsel ausgequetscht zu haben. Pfui Deibel ja! Aber, das war ihr ganz recht! Warum hatte sie das ganze Pack nicht schon längst an die Luft gesetzt! Wenn's wenigstens noch die verrückten Thienwiebels gewesen wären. Aber die holte ja der Satan nicht! Die hakten fest wie Kletten an ihr!⁴²

The first paragraph is similar to that of the earlier passage concerning Frau Wachtel: amid the narratorial irony, of which she is once again the object, her own voice can occasionally be distinguished before the perspective is totally appropriated in the second and third paragraphs by her consciousness. The stylistic peculiarity about this passage that Pascal alerts us to is the fact that we are not told the identity of the "er" to whom she refers at the beginning of the second paragraph (the passage comes at the beginning of Section VI, so there is nothing before the quoted part that might indicate of whom she is thinking). "Der vermaledeite

knirpsige Schmierpeter" is clearly Ole Nissen, but the earlier "er" is in actual fact Thienwebel, as her later cursing of "die verrückten Thienwiebels" confirms. The reason why it is at first left unclear who "er" is, can, as Pascal points out,⁴³ only be explained if we recognise the passage as free indirect style, as an excursion, as it were, into the landlady's mind where it is not necessary to name the object of her fury; so preoccupied is she with the hated man that "er" suffices.

Pascal draws attention to this passage for two reasons: firstly, because this ambiguity he recognises as a stylistic feature of many modern novels, where the reader may be uncertain for many pages as to who is thinking about whom; secondly, because when the free indirect style is extended in this way, such passages, he claims, can only be called inner monologues. In the older narrative monologue, as in the theatrical monologue, the character speaks without intermediary in the present tense. The older convention, as in Walter Scott, Stendhal or Fontane, for example, was to present such a soliloquy in inverted commas, as if it were a speech, whereas in the modern convention the use of free indirect style enables the author to come closer to the peculiar nature of thought as opposed to speech. The passages in "Papa Hamlet", like those already discussed, are thus more typical of the narrative form of inner monologue, not only because they share the grammatical form of authorial narrative and are, in this case, related in the past but also because mostly the content and language of the passages tell us they convey the thoughts of a character. As such, therefore, they must in fact be termed inner monologues.⁴⁴ Paradoxically, in "Papa Hamlet", Holz succeeds, at one and the same time, in both blurring and heightening the difference between the two forms of monologue. For, on the one hand, by working the use of actual Shakespearean soliloquies organically into the story, he emphasises the sharp contrast

in style between the dramatic and the inner monologue; while, on the other hand, by occasionally weaving into Thienwiebel's inner monologues fragments or stylistic features of Shakespeare's passages, he actually fuses the two forms and produces, in effect, a monologue within a monologue, as in the following example at the beginning of section III:

Er hatte seit kurzem - er wusste nicht wodurch? - all seine Munterkeit eingebüsst, seine gewohnten Übungen aufgegeben, und es stand in der Tat so übel um seine Gemütslage, dass die Erde, dieser treffliche Bau, ihm nur ein kahles Vorgebirge schien. Dieser herrliche Baldachin, die Luft, dieses majestätische Dach mit goldnem Feuer ausgelegt: kam es ihm doch nicht anders vor als ein fauler, verpesteter Haufe von Dünsten.

Welch ein Meisterwerk war der Mensch! Wie edel durch Vernunft! Wie unbegrenzt an Fähigkeiten! In Gestalt und Bewegung wie bedeutend und wunderwürdig im Handeln, wie ähnlich einem Engel; im Begreifen, wie ähnlich einem Gotte; die Zierde der Welt! Das Vorbild des Lebendigen! Und doch: was war ihm diese Quintessenz von Staube? Er hatte keine Lust am Manne - und am Weibe auch nicht. Die Zeit war aus den Fugen! War es zu glauben? Aber - e - man hatte ihm noch immer nicht geschrieben. Man war undankbar in Christiania. Armer Yorick!⁴⁵

The real stylistic advance that derives from Holz's use of free indirect style, however, lies in a quite different area. In summing up the difference between the two types of monologue, the inner and the dramatic, Pascal points to the way in which the style of Holz's consequential Naturalism could be effectively combined with the form of the free indirect style such that the resulting inner monologue expressed, in a hitherto unknown way, the complexities of the psyche and the subconscious:

inner monologues (are) proper to the narrative form, while the older type is proper to the drama. They have one great advantage over the older, dramatic type. The latter must confine itself to articulate thoughts, that indicate a high degree of consciousness, of intellectual awareness and literacy. The inner monologue in the form of free indirect speech can express more readily subconscious, pre-conscious psychic layers, nervous reactions, that resist conscious verbalisation by the characters.⁴⁶

Similarly, Walter Sokel has argued that the stream-of-consciousness technique - the next stage in the subjectivist scale, as it were - ultimately derives from the structural principle of "Sekundenstil".⁴⁷ Such views

merely indicate the subjectivising tendencies inherent or latent in Holz's consequential Naturalism.

I have dwelt at some length on Holz's use of the free indirect style, firstly, because I wish to give some idea of the extent to which it informs the structure of, in particular, "Papa Hamlet" and secondly, because I regard it as the crucial (but not the only) stylistic feature that separates the two types of sketch I have identified in Holz's imaginative prose. Above all, it is the prerequisite for the multi-perspectivity so evident in "Papa Hamlet". And yet, merely to establish the existence of a plurality of perspectives does not, in itself, tell us what the interpretational consequences of that multiple perspective are. Furthermore, much though my observations on the free indirect style are indebted to Roy Pascal's excellent analysis of that feature of Holz's prose-writing, nevertheless the conclusion I reach regarding the consequences of the multiple perspective in Holz's work is the very converse of that which Pascal proposes. And since I believe that the conclusion he draws plays a definite role both in his analysis of other stylistic elements in "Papa Hamlet" and in his interpretation of the sketch as a whole, then clearly it is appropriate to provide, first of all, a brief exposition of his argumentation. Essentially, however, we are concerned with the question of to what extent the use of free indirect style affects the status of objective reality in Holz's prose.

Pascal begins by asserting the essential difference between two types of prose-fiction, namely, the novel of nineteenth-century realism and what he calls "the modern, post-Joycean novel".⁴⁸ In the former, the position of the narrator is absolute, since the subjective world of the characters can always be clearly differentiated from the authoritative, authorial truth

and consequently their views are always "explicitly partial, subordinate to the understanding wisdom of the narrator";⁴⁹ in the latter, however, the status of the narrator is undermined and, in some cases, to so great a degree as to present reality as a complex configuration of subjective consciousnesses that ultimately denies the possibility of an objective view of reality. Relating Holz's prose-style (in "Papa Hamlet" and "Der erste Schultag") to these two types, Pascal argues that although the multi-perspectivity deriving from his use of free indirect style shows a richer understanding of the complexity of human beings and is, therefore, truer to reality than the presentation possible within the single perspective of the fictitious onlooker, the resulting complexity neither relativises the position of the narrator nor shakes, in any way, the essential objectivity of the narrative. That is to say, Holz's prose is still basically within the realist tradition in the sense that "his method as a whole rather tends to reinforce the idea of a possible objective truth, just as it does that of an authoritative moral judgement".⁵⁰ In other words, while acknowledging that Holz's use of free indirect style is an enrichment of realism - one could almost say, paradoxically, it is more objective in that it is more subjective! - Pascal does not regard this overall as a subjectivising tendency and this for two reasons: firstly, because its use does not by and large engender ambiguity and secondly, because of what he describes as the inherent "authority" of the narrator in Holz's prose. I hope to show that both these assertions are more problematical than Pascal would allow for and that, consequently, the idea of an unchallengeable, objective truth is in "Papa Hamlet" considerably relativised.

Ambiguity is, in fact, I would argue, quite common in "Papa Hamlet". Throughout the sketch, for example, the Thienwiebels are referred to as "der grosse Thienwiebel" - which, while clearly a narratorial ironisation

of Thienwiebel's sense of self-importance, may or may not represent an objective statement on the character's physical appearance - and "die reizende Ophelia". The latter is not problematical, because once alerted to the function of the free indirect style we can recognise how Thienwiebel constantly subsumes other characters into his Shakespearean world. However, a statement such as "Ihre alten Opheliajahre waren wieder lebendig in ihr geworden"⁵¹ does raise certain doubts. For, as a narratorial comment, it could be taken to mean that formerly Amalie did actually play on stage the role of Ophelia to Thienwiebel's Hamlet. Alternatively, it could denote a momentary change in Thienwiebel's response to his wife, a re-awakening of the feelings he presumably once had for her and as such this would be a significant qualification of Thienwiebel's character. Uncertainty can be found, too, at a much simpler level. A sentence such as "Total vernichtet hatte er sich jetzt wieder auf das Sofa zurückgeschleudert"⁵² appears straightforward enough; and yet, is the slightly colloquial "total vernichtet" the narrator's observation or is it Thienwiebel's own evocation of his sense of fatigue, real or imagined? Similarly, when we read of Amalie, "Sie sah jetzt ordentlich wie eine kleine Hausmutter aus",⁵³ does this represent a brief effort on her part to try and break out of her own apathy or is it merely how she appears to the slightly infatuated Ole? Once suggested the uncertainty, arising from the constant switch in perspective, can lead us to question the apparently most trivial aspect of the text, as in the following example where even the status of the dots is ambiguous(!):

"Allerdings, Amalie! Ich behaupte ..."

Amalie war jetzt ein wenig ungeduldig geworden.

"Ach was! Lass lieber das Kind nicht so schreien!"

"Auch das ist wieder nur so ein Vorurteil von dir, Amalie! Was schadet das! Ich habe gelesen, es ist nichts gesünder! Die Lungen weiten sich dabei! Aber -e ... wie gesagt! Du solltest das Kind

selbst tr"anken! Die heutige Kultur freilich, die Kultur der europ"aischen Welt ..."

Die Kultur "uberging Amalie. Sie hielt sich nur an die Ermahnungen, die sie nur schon so oft zu h"oren bekommen hatte.⁵⁴

In the first instance the dots indicate that Thienwiebel has been interrupted in mid-sentence by Amalie's impatient "Ach was!" The third time, however, it could show that Thienwiebel, in switching to his higher quasi-Shakespearean level of articulation, is stumbling over his words as in the case of the second example ("Aber -e ... wie gesagt!"); he has, as it were, forgotten his lines. Alternatively, the following narratorial passage appears to shift the perspective to Amalie and to the thought that she has heard this all before. The narrator's explanation, "Die Kultur "uberging Amalie", could thus be his ironic way of telling us that Amalie had, as it were, mentally switched off and thus the dots represent Amalie's reception of the rest of Thienwiebel's homily, i.e. objectively he continues speaking, she merely shuts her mind to it in her fury at his continued carping.

Similarly, the function of the much discussed episode at the end of the sketch, where Holz actually represents in the text the dripping of the melting snow, could be seen to differ according to the perspective from which it is viewed. Pascal cites with approval Martini's view of this scene as an exemplary "still-life", representing, that is to say, a lyrical moment that reflects the response of the observing artist and that in no sense interprets the experience or perception of the fictional characters.⁵⁵ And yet, could not this be precisely the case, namely, that this is indeed Thienwiebel's actual experience, his mind a blank with the realisation of what he has done such that his now distorted awareness of reality perceives only the rhythmic but disproportionately prominent sound of the thawing snow?

2

These may all appear very minor subtleties. There are, however, many other such examples in "Papa Hamlet" and in their combined effect they cannot but weaken the narratorial standpoint. There are, in any case, at least two occasions where the perspectival ambiguity is of major importance. Mention has already been made of the manner in which the sketch begins, of how the usual reassuring narratorial introduction is foresaken in favour of a disconcerting passage in free indirect style. The disorienting effect of this as regards the narratorial standpoint is paralleled by the uncertainty surrounding the end of the sketch, for there we find, once again, not an authoritative statement from the narrator but a series of apparently disparate quotations. I shall return later to this concluding passage; for the moment, suffice it to say that some indication of its ambiguity can be gained from the fact that in their respective interpretations of this "epilogue", Pascal and Martini arrive at totally opposite conclusions concerning its meaning for the rest of the story and its relationship to the position of the narrator. The second instance of substantial ambiguity concerns the concluding lines of Section VI where we read: "Der grosse Thienwiebel hatte nicht so ganz unrecht: Die ganze Wirtschaft bei ihm zu Hause war der Spiegel und die abgekürzte Chronik des Zeitalters."⁵⁶ The question here is: whose words are these, Thienwiebel's or the narrator's? If the latter, then this must be seen as an unambivalent statement by the narrator - untypically foresaking his ironical stance - which identifies the disarray of the Thienwiebel household as a symptom and microcosmic reflection of an entire age in disintegration, with the first part of the sentence alluding to a remark made earlier by Thienwiebel himself. If, however, what we find here is Thienwiebel's perspective transposed once again via his Shakespearean register of articulation on to the quasi-philosophical level of his monologues,

- and the particular use of a colon does prompt the impression of quotation - then the first part of the sentence represents not so much an unequivocal affirmation as an intentional qualification of his view, the narrator's grudging admission that there might be a grain of truth in what he says but that his words are not to be taken too literally.

For Pascal, however, this particular problem would not arise; for him there is no question of relativism since, he argues, the narrator is still accorded the inviolable authority of the realist tradition. However, while it is true that there are residual traces of this form of narration in "Papa Hamlet", I would argue, nevertheless, that this is not the position of omniscience associated with the traditional narrator. An episode in section III illustrates this point. Here Frau Wachtel has brought some milk for the baby and bending over the child in its cot starts affectionately to play with it. Suddenly for some reason she hurriedly leaves and the narrator proffers the explanation that this is probably because she has heard someone coming up the stairs. At the end of the scene Thienwiebel, in a rare show of affection, bends over to kiss his son but he too is repelled by something. The narrator now reveals the real cause of Frau Wachtel's exit: "Sei's Farbe der Natur, sei's Fleck des Zufalls, kurz und gut, aber der kleine Prinz von Norwegen lag wieder seelenvergnügt mitten in seinen weitläufigen Besitzungen da."⁵⁷ In other words, the narrator is still very much in the role of onlooker, experiencing events, like the characters themselves, as they happen. And yet, he differs in one very important aspect from the impartial observer we identified in, for example, "Die papierne Passion". For "Papa Hamlet" is marked by a pervasive irony and it is through this clearly identifiable narratorial perspective that the characters and events are filtered. The narrator, then, may be anonymous, but he is not, as Pascal would have it,

without characteristics. For his prevailing sense of doubt, his caustic sarcasm and unrelenting cynicism imbue him with a moral, if not an actual physical, presence, an attribute, moreover, that situates him not outside but firmly within the context of the reality depicted. That is to say, far from reinforcing the narrator's authority, as Pascal claims, the sharp ironic tone of his comments, I would argue, actually diminishes that authority. The irony creates a double distance: on the one hand, between the narrator and the characters and, on the other hand, between the narrator and the reader. Of course, this is not to say that we accept nothing of what the narrator relates for our acknowledging the validity of factual items, passages of description etc. is, as Pascal stresses, the condition for the existence of the story.⁵⁸ Equally, however, this does not mean that we are obliged to accept as absolute those statements which may or may not purport to be factual but which actually evince the value-judgements of the narrator. The intimacy between narrator and reader, as Martini puts it, is broken; events are related from a perspective which is, ultimately, unambiguously personal and with which we are not necessarily being invited to identify. The irony directed against Thienwiebel is a good example. The narrator's sarcasm has the function of puncturing for the reader the carapace of illusion with which Thienwiebel coats his relationship to reality. But what the narrator's "harsh lack of sympathy"⁵⁹ does not let him see is that, as Osborne points out, Thienwiebel's escapism is understandable since it is only by adopting a role that he is able to attain any sort of mastery, albeit an illusory one, over the world in which he lives.⁶⁰ That this is the type of conclusion that Holz himself might wish us to draw is indicated by a statement he made at the time of composing "Papa Hamlet", one which, moreover, is surely at variance with the attitude of his narrator:

Mein Standpunkt, der nicht der 'idealistische' ist, verbietet es mir, von ihm aus, 'Verdammungsurteile' zu fällen, Ich fälle überhaupt keine 'Verdammungsurteile'; ich suche in erster Linie zu 'verstehen'. 'Non ridere, non lugere, neque detestari, sed intelligere'. Das ist meine Devise.⁶¹

Nor is the narratorial standpoint fully grasped if seen merely as a residual effect of the bourgeois distaste for the bohemian so evident in Schlaf's "Ein Dachstubenidyll". For the narrator's sarcasm is pointed not only at the Thienwiebels but also at decidedly non-bohemian characters such as Frau Wachtel or the policeman who find Thienwiebel's body. Martini is thus surely correct in characterising the narrator's position, particularly as expressed in the "epilogue", as one of doubt and cynicism. To be sure, one must speak of the dominance of the narrator's perspective, but it is not an insidious but a perfectly transparent form of dominance. Since it is all too evident how the narrator continually tries to put forward his own point of view, his perspective can thus be seen as just one view of reality among many, which is in itself no more valid, exemplary or authoritative than that of, say, Thienwiebel and which certainly does not emanate, therefore, from what Pascal calls an "unchallengeable deity".⁶²

The use of the free indirect style and perspectivised narrative is thus an important subjectivising tendency. There are, however, others which likewise, I believe, can only be found in "Papa Hamlet" and "Der erste Schultag". One such tendency is Holz's use of the symbol of which three types can be differentiated. The first may be termed the "inorganic" symbol, namely, those items of the story which possess no inherent narrative function and which merely serve to reflect at a different level of significance the reality depicted. Pascal has provided an excellent example of this type of symbol in his analysis of "Der erste Schultag". In the classroom scene when Borchert is left alone with the hysterical

Jewish boy, the narrator describes at some length the girations of a large bluebottle that has fallen on its back and is struggling to right itself. Its effect is clearly to symbolise the writhings of the boy that are then described a little later in the passage.

Just before the incident and following directly on the boys' joyous exit from Borchert's classroom, the narrator switches focus once more to describe the end of the tight-rope walker's act in the nearby town square and the applause from the watching crowd. Here again the release from the tension engendered by the artist's act, which is manifested in their rapturous reception of its end, parallels the sense of relief felt by the boys on hearing the schoolbell and expressed in their adulation of the porter. The difference, however, between the description of the tight-rope walker and that of the bluebottle is that the former, unlike the latter, is organically integrated into the story and has an autonomous, narrative significance. "Papa Hamlet", too, has examples of this type, chief among which being the continual evoking of Hamlet, the disillusioned idealist, through the Shakespeare quotations. Indeed, the very incongruity of the two words in the sketch's title symbolises the uneasy fusion of the two spheres of Thienwiebel's existence and the way his private persona is gradually engulfed by the illusion of his public role.

There is still another type of symbolic element in "Papa Hamlet" that occurs when an amorphous collection of things come together in momentary harmony and thereby transcend their significance as mere objects. Such examples can be found quite early in the sketch:

Mit einem Ruck war jetzt der Shakespeare, den er sich eben aus seiner Schlafrocktasche gerissen, auf den Tisch geflogen, wo er die Gesellschaft einer Spirituskochmaschine, eines braunirdenen Milchtopfs ohne Henkel, eines alten, berussten Handtuchs, einer Glaslampe und einer Photographie des grossen Thienwiebel in Morarahmen vorfand.⁶³

Such moments occur throughout the sketch and culminate in the typographical representation of the thawing snow. They may, as in the above example, constitute a visionary moment of contrast to the surrounding chaos and disintegration of the Thienwiebel household; alternatively, they may represent a form of poetic anthropomorphism as objects seemingly spring to life in order to participate directly in the unfolding drama. Thus, in the final episode Thienwiebel's drunken home-coming is accompanied by a whole orchestra of objects:

Die Schere, die ihr vorhin vom Tisch runtergekippt war, lag unten vor ihr auf den grauen Dielen. Sie flinkerte.
Das Lämpchen auf dem Tisch hatte jetzt leise zu zittern angefangen, die hellen, langgezogenen Kringel, die sein Wasser oben quer über die Decke und ein Stück Tapete weg gelegt hatte, schaukelten. Das Geschirr um das Glas hob sich schwarz aus ihnen ab. Die Kaffeekanne reichte bis über die Decke.

"Brrr . . . Ae!"

Ihre Pantoffeln waren jetzt unter den Tisch geflogen, sie hatte sich hastig unter das Deckbett gekuschelt.

Die weissen Lichtringe fluteten und fluteten, das Öl auf dem Tisch knatterte leise, ein kleines Fünkchen war eben von seinem Docht abgespritzt und schwamm nun schwarz in der dicken, goldgelben Masse.⁶⁴

Martini, since he argues the objectivist case for Holz's sketches, finds these lyrical moments incongruous with the objectivity that, he argues, prevails elsewhere in the narrative. Consequently, he calls them "eine Inkonsequenz des konsequenten Naturalisten"⁶⁵ of which he believes Holz could not have been aware. Martini himself, however, seems in turn unaware that this subjectivising tendency is latent in the very method of the "Sekundenstil", for the meticulous description of minute detail can have two possible effects. On the one hand, it may reproduce reality in the objectivist sense that it allows the reader to form an imaginary picture of, say, a particular milieu by piecing together the various depicted elements into a complete mental image; on the other hand, however, by isolating or emphasising particular objects or details which the reader, were he actually present in and himself surveying the milieu, would

not consciously register, the style of consequential Naturalism may thus, in fact, depict the concrete in such a way as to deprive it of its reassuring familiarity and imbue it with a sort of magic autonomy transcending its contextual significance, a process one could perhaps term the "estrangement effect" of the "Sekundenstil". Whether one calls these lyrical images "Stimmungsträger" or "still lifes" (Martini), "epiphanies" (James Joyce) or simply symbols, is of less relevance than the fact that as such they clearly constitute a subjectivising tendency, a stylisation moreover which, significantly, is peculiar to "Papa Hamlet" and does not appear in those sketches of the objectivist type.

In my discussion of Holz's use of irony and the symbol, reference has been made to one particular element common to both, namely, the integration into the text of quotations from Hamlet. These appear in three distinct forms: as dramatic lines actually recited by Thienwiebel, as part of his speech or thought as it occurs in either conversation or inner monologue and as part of the direct, narratorial comment used for obvious ironic effect. All three forms serve to parody and relativise both Thienwiebel's reality and his view of reality. However, these quotations can, I would suggest, also fulfil another function in that they constitute an important component of the formal structure of "Papa Hamlet". This becomes clearer when analysing the manner in which Holz incorporates the quotations into the text. Whereas on some occasions, such as when Thienwiebel is actually rehearsing the lines, for instance, Holz merely transposes without intervention certain parts of Shakespeare's text, very often his technique of interweaving quotation is much more complex and abstruse as the following example from Section IV illustrates:

--Ja! Es war Wermut! Sein Verstand war krank! Es fehlte ihm an Beförderung! Im Schosse des Glückes? Oh, sehr wahr! Sie ist eine Metze! Was gibt es Neues? Als Roscius noch ein Schauspieler zu

Rom war . . . Geharnischt, sagt Ihr? Sehr glaublich! Sehr glaublich! - Ein Mann, der Stoss und Gaben mit gleichem Dank genommen, der zur Pfeife nicht Fortunen diente, den Ton zu spielen, den ihr Finger griff, ein Bettler, wie er . . . Nichts mehr davon!! Sprich weiter, komm auf Hekuba!

In der Tat, es liess sich nicht mehr leugnen: er war jetzt wirklich zu bedauern, der grosse Thienwiebel!

Oh, welch ein Schurk' und niedrer Sklav' er war!! War's nicht erstaunlich? War's zu glauben? War's möglich? War's nur durch Angewohnheit, die den Schein gefäll'ger Sitten überrostet, war's Übermass in seines Blutes Mischung: kurz und gut, aber er kam jetzt immer wieder auf sie zurück: auf nichts, auf Hekuba!

Wozu sollten Gesellen wie er zwischen Himmel und Erde herumkriechen? Dem Staub gepaart, dem er verwandt, so rings umstrickt mit Bübereien . . . nicht doch, mein Fürst!! Die Mausefalle? Und wie das? Metaphorisch! Ich bitte, spotte meiner nicht, mein Schulfreund; Du kamst gewiss zu meiner Mutter Hochzeit!

Armer Yorick! Denn wenn die Sonne Maden aus einem toten Hunde ausbrütet, eine Gottheit, die Aas küsst . . . Armer Yorick!

Sein Wahnsinn war des armen Hamlet Feind. - 66

This passage is preceded by the inner monologue, previously quoted, in which Frau Wachtel directs her fury at the Thienwiebels and is followed by two further paragraphs, in which Amalie and Ole Nissen, respectively, are the locus of narration. These various passages thus blend together into a form of montage. A closer inspection of the passage itself, however, reveals it to be not an integral unit but a collage of some twenty-one quotations that are in fact scattered throughout the five acts of Shakespeare's play.⁶⁷ Furthermore, in being wrenched from their original context the meaning of some of the quotations is changed, if not lost altogether. This de-contextualisation thus effects what Martini terms a "Sinnentleerung"⁶⁸ in which the intrinsic meaning of the quotations is subordinate to their function as collage material, a technique modern in concept which, as I shall illustrate later, prefigures its usage in the epic fiction of the twentieth century. In a sense, Holz himself alerts us to the possibilities of this technique for the introduction of the 1889 edition of "Papa Hamlet" closes with a lengthy montage,⁶⁹ constructed by the authors, of the various newspaper reviews of the sketches

which covers every shade of opinion from derisive dismissal to unqualified acclamation. When, in his discussion of the montage-effect in "Papa Hamlet", Martini speaks of the "Sprachspiel"⁷⁰ that Holz develops, then this could easily serve his argument that Holz is a pioneer of the modern trend towards the "technicisation" of literature.⁷¹ And while it is, indeed, an index of Holz's finely developed, formal sense, I believe, however, it also sheds further light on the overall meaning of "Papa Hamlet" in that it, perhaps, illuminates one of the most problematical aspects of the sketch, namely, the so-called epilogue.

The story concludes with the discovery of Thienwiebel's frozen corpse by a hunchback errand boy, prompting his shocked response, "Jesus! Jesus!!", and with the arrival of the policeman to deliver the official, legal verdict on Thienwiebel's demise, "Erfroren durch Suff!" The sketch then closes with the following passage:

Wohlan, eine pathetische Rede!
Es war der grosse Thienwiebel.
Und seine Seele? Seine Seele, die ein unsterblich Ding war?
Lirum, Larum! Das Leben ist brutal, Amalie! Verlass dich drauf!
Aber - es war ja alles egal! So oder so! ⁷²

This passage evokes antithetical responses from Martini and Pascal. The epilogue leads Martini to see the sketch not as the study of a particular "case" but the intensive reflection of a world in disintegration. That is to say, it presents what he terms a "Weltdeutung",⁷³ a comment on the human condition as such. Roy Pascal, on the other hand, rejects this conclusion seeing this passage only as the re-assertion of the narrator-ial irony.⁷⁴ While I think Pascal is correct to see "Papa Hamlet" as a study of a particular case that may have a more general, symptomatic social relevance, I nevertheless regard the sketch as more open-ended than he would allow. The final passage consists, in fact, of three "Hamlet" quotations ("Wohlan! Eine pathetische Rede!"; "Und seine Seele? Seine Seele,

die ein unsterblich Ding war?"; "Lirum, Larum")⁷⁵ and three phrases with which we have become familiar during the course of the story. "Es war der grosse Thienwiebel" (a paraphrase of the sketch's opening) is the narrator's voice, his irony and sarcasm even at this pathetic end still unrelenting; while the final phrases are, respectively, Thienwiebel's and Amalie's philosophy of life, the clichéd expression of their felt helplessness. Holz thus presents us here with a montage, a distillation of the various perspectives on the reality presented, that encompasses at one extreme the scepticism of the narratorial position, at the other the optimism of the Christian viewpoint and, in between, the Thienwiebels' sense of bewilderment. It represents, therefore, not moralistic condemnation but recognition of the complexity of reality that makes such confident moralising untenable.

In my discussion of consequential Naturalism as an objectivist literary mode, I argued that subsequent German developments have thrown up strikingly few parallels. If, as I believe it does, the real resonance of Holz's style lies in the possibility of its adaptation for a markedly subjective kind of writing, then this can be at least partially explained by considering German Naturalism as a whole in its historical context and, in particular, in its character as the first literary response to a period of unparalleled social change. That is to say, German Naturalism is of great significance, if for no other reason than that it was the first literary movement in Germany to be confronted with the qualitatively new reality of advanced industrial society. The belated but rapid and extremely thorough transition to advanced industrialisation in Germany appeared less as a stage in the evolutionary process than as a form of historical rupture so pervasive and dramatic in its effects as to transform the very

nature of social experience. Indeed, it is this transformation, manifested primarily in a new degree of alienation in man's relationship to his environment and to other human beings, in a word, in man's relationship to reality, that so preoccupied the Naturalists and which, broadly speaking, has continued to preoccupy subsequent writers.

Richard Hinton Thomas has identified three specific aspects which reflect this sense of alienation: firstly, the concern with milieu as something confronting man now as a bewildering reality and thus all the more deserving of analytical scrutiny; secondly, the breakdown of the belief that the individual can at least to some significant degree embrace in his experience totality and unity; thirdly, the questioning and ultimate rejection of the notion of the unified and unifying experience of reality and the concomitant recognition of the problematical nature of identity, in a complex industrial society.⁷⁶ If, as Hinton Thomas argues, it is this third aspect, the question of identity, which, of all the problems occupying German writers from towards the end of the nineteenth century, is the most central and the most significant,⁷⁷ then Holz's literary contribution to that continuity is surely not insubstantial. Thematically, of course, Holz shared the Naturalists' preoccupation with milieu and, in so far as his primary concern in the sketches was not the "plot" but characterisation, it is possible to argue that he was thus inevitably confronting the problem of identity. After all, "Papa Hamlet" is, at one level, a study of Thienwiebel's relationship to reality and of the breakdown of his relationship with Amalie.

It is, however, primarily in the realm of form that Holz's real contribution is to be located as regards the literary depiction of the problem of identity. Indeed, the "Sekundenstil" itself, replacing the principle of unified and unifying narrative with that of a second-by-second succession of detail and denying the narrator the traditional supremacy of omniscience, expresses in its very essence the felt impossibility of

experiencing unity and totality, emanating, as it does, from a narrator rooted in the present, a self without continuity. As Osborne puts it, the "Sekundenstil" deprives us of the possibility of a panoramic view; it conveys, without stating explicitly, a sense of loss and anxiety in a fragmented world.⁷⁸ Indeed, according to Martini, the language of the "Sekundenstil" reflects and expresses the "atomisation of existence" itself:

... die gesamte Durchformung dieser Prosa ist auf die Zertrümmerung der Sprache ins Momentan-Zusammenhanglose, äusserlich und innerlich Abgerissene und Zerfetzte gerichtet. Und was der Sprache zugemutet wird, wird noch durch die reich besetzte Partitur der Satzzeichen unterstützt, deren Funktion nicht nur im Mimisch-Gebärdenhaften der emotionalen Rhythmisierung, sondern auch im Auseinanderreissen und Atomisieren des Sprachgefüges liegt. Man darf darin nicht nur die technische Analytik einer nuancierten Wirklichkeitsbeobachtung . . . sehen, sondern muss erkennen, wie diese sprachliche Struktur als Weltdeutung gemeint ist.⁷⁹

He adds that "diese Auflösung im Sprachlichen entspricht . . . der Auflösung der Verhältnisse der Menschen untereinander"⁸⁰ and defines the outstanding quality of Holz's language, when used in the dialogue-form, as what he terms its "analytischer Psychologismus",⁸¹ its facility for directly expressing the pre- and subconscious layers of the psyche. It is in all these ways, says Martini, that Holz's narrative prose marks such a crucial break with the style of nineteenth-century realism and, we would wish to add, establishes at the same time an essential strand of continuity with certain forms of prose-writing in the twentieth century. In the following analysis of two contemporary works which deal, respectively, with the problem of the self and reality and the breakdown of social relationships between human beings - themes which, as I have suggested, can also be identified in "Papa Hamlet" - I hope to illustrate that in consequential Naturalism, as we find it in the subjectivist type, Holz developed a style which, even if not consciously appropriated by the

authors in question, nevertheless constituted a form of literary prototype for this subjective mode of writing. The two works are Der Schatten des Körpers des Kutschers⁸² by Peter Weiss and Ein schöner Tag⁸³ by Dieter Wellershoff.

Even the most cursory reading of Peter Weiss's short prose-work, Der Schatten des Körpers des Kutschers, would reveal those stylistic features which are most immediately suggested by the term "consequential Naturalism". The book has no "plot" to speak of but comprises a set of sketches, "Aufzeichnungen", which record certain experiences of an anonymous individual. This series of episodes, whose subject matter encompasses such largely banal eventualities as the narrator's walk through the kitchen, his reflections and observations while sitting on the earth-closet, the description of the evening meal in the boarding-house etc., do not therefore constitute a meaningful whole, having nothing in common beyond their authorship and the fact of their occurrence within a particular time-span and geographical location (the latter characteristics of an unchanging milieu and a concentrated time-scale are, of course, also typical of the "Sekundenstil".) That these episodes should be called sketches is in itself significant for the reason stated by Elias Canetti when differentiating between sketches ("Aufzeichnungen") and diaries ("Tagebücher"): the latter, he says, serve to demonstrate the continuity of a life but in the former nothing is anticipated, nothing expected and the aim is not to complete or to round off.⁸⁴ They represent, that is to say, fragments of experience whose shape is determined solely by the passage of time and which are capable, therefore, of endless continuation, a fact symbolised, perhaps, by the deliberate omission of the full stop at

the end of the final sentence of Weiss's book.

The most obvious similarity with Holz's style, however, lies in the familiar richness and concreteness of the description, in the typical concentration on the directly perceivable, material world, in a language more or less devoid of striking analogy, image or metaphor in which interpretative comment is rare and, above all, in the immense detail and precision accorded even the most mundane of events. For Holz, the description of a falling leaf may have warranted a passage, not a mere sentence; but even that pales beside the detail which Weiss's narrator devotes to the act of lighting a cigarette:

auch der Hauptmann greift in eine Tasche, in die Brusttasche seiner Weste, nimmt ein silbernes Etui hervor, klopft auf den Deckel, lässt den Deckel aufschnappen, wendet sich über die Rückenlehne des Sessels, reicht das Etui über Schnees Schulter, Schnee wendet sich ihm entgegen, lässt seine knöcherne Hand in grossen Bogen in das Etui hineinstossen, hebt eine Zigarette heraus, worauf der Hauptmann das Etui zurückführt, selbst eine Zigarette dem Etui entnimmt, das Etui zuklappen lässt und in die Brusttasche zurücksteckt. Dann greift der Hauptmann in seine Hosentasche und lässt die Hand mit einem Feuerzeug hervortreten; die Hand mit dem Feuerzeug schwingt sich über die Sessellehne, Schnee wendet sein Gesicht dem Feuerzeug entgegen, die Finger des Hauptmanns schlagen Feuer und Schnee saugt, mit der Zigarette in Mund, an der Flamme. Das über die Rückenlehne gewendete Gesicht des Hauptmanns liegt nahe an Schnees Gesicht, beider Augen sind seitwärts auf das Feuerzeug gerichtet und die Flamme spiegelt sich in ihren Pupillen; nachdem die Glut an der Spitze von Schnees Zigarette leuchtet und dieser eine Wolke blauen Rauches zwischen den Lippen hervorstösst führt der Hauptmann die Flamme an die eigene Zigarette, und Schnee sieht ihm zu, wie er an der Zigarette saugt und wie auch diese Zigarette zu glühen beginnt und der Rauch aus dem Mund des Hauptmanns quillt.⁸⁵

In short, we can recognise here the same striving for objectivity and totality that underpins the style of consequential Naturalism. And yet, the most obvious difference between the two styles illustrates all the more forcefully the basic paradox which Günther Mahal saw at the heart of the "Sekundenstil". For Der Schatten des Körpers des Kutschers is a first person narrative, its narrator is not anonymous and impersonal as in Holz's objectivist prose but an actual fictional character, who is thus

both subject and object of the sketches. Consequently, much though the massive detail is undoubtedly motivated by the narrator's desire for total objectivity, by his determination that no element of the reality he experiences shall elude verbalisation, it is in precisely that very detail that what he writes reveals itself to be the product of a uniquely subjective mode of perception. It is interesting, at this point, to recall the manner in which John Osborne defines the effect of Holz's style:

Holz and Schlaf do not tell us what any chance observer would see, but they describe with a more than ordinary precision; . . . (they) present their story through the eyes of a narrator who is, it seems, unable to put things in their place, or to differentiate between the significant and the insignificant. All he can do is register everything he sees, and in so doing register his own incomprehension, . . . the price of over-close scrutiny is a frightening loss of grasp.⁸⁶

One could hardly wish for a more cogent summary of Der Schatten des Körpers des Kutschers! In fact, the narrator admits at one point that the effort of ordering his experience is beyond his endurance such that he is overcome by a feeling of "extensive boredom". Clearly, we encounter here a self so diminished as to possess no more than a fragmented and discontinuous consciousness. As such his narration represents an intensification of the subjectivist characteristics of Holz's narrator and this, in turn, leads to certain differences: these, however, are differences in degree, not in kind.

Discussing the principle of artistic selectivity in Holz's prose, Roy Pascal writes: "Reality" - even the room of a boarding-house, we might add, à propos of Der Schatten des Körpers des Kutschers - is infinite, and narrative art has to select and arrange....concrete description is not applied as an abstract general principle, but as a function of the story, required here and there, now and then."⁸⁷ The impression given

by Weiss's narrator is of someone unwilling, or unable, to accept this proposition. No detail is too trivial or self-evident to warrant reference, nothing is pre-supposed. On entering the doctor's room, for example, the narrator's first impression is of "sein von vier Wänden, einem Fussboden und einer Decke gebildetes Zimmer."⁸⁸ Osborne also points to the often confusing effect of detail in Holz's work, saying, for example, of one of his descriptions of a room:

The objects in this room are seen only in their immediate context. . . and we need to read very attentively, or to keep looking back in the text, if we are to understand the disposition of objects about the room as a whole.⁸⁹

The indiscriminate detail of Weiss's narrator, however, is so physically disorientating as to make it almost impossible for the reader to produce a mental picture of what is being depicted. On entering the landlady's room, for example, he describes the scene as follows:

. . . indem man zunächst zur Rechten einen ovalen, mit einer Spitzendecke gedeckten und mit einer grossen violetten Glasvase versehenen Tisch, und zur Linken eine Kommode mit Fotografien von älteren . . . und jüngeren Frauen, jungen Mädchen, einem mit einem Reifen spielenden Kinde, einem auf dem Bauch liegenden Wickelkind, älteren und jüngeren Männern, teils bartlos, teils mit Schnurrbärten und Kinnbärten, passierte. . .⁹⁰

Such myriad detail is disorientating and pre-empts any overall perspective on the scene because the narrator accords the same status of significance to the furniture as to the type of moustaches the men in the photographs were wearing. The structuring principle is not so much selectivity as that of pure itemisation and a sentence like the following is quite common: "Dies sind die Geräusche; das Schmatzen und Grunzen des Schweinerüssels, das Schwappen und Klatschen des Schlammes, das borstige Schmieren des Schweinerückens an den Brettern, das Quietschen und Knarren der Bretter. . ." etc.⁹¹ This itemising process does not require the establishing of any causal connection between the various phenomena and,

indeed, the narrator does not attempt to interrelate the different visual and audible experiences, for in his mind they all enjoy an autonomy of significance. And yet, curiously, certain phenomena do have primacy over others but, characteristically, this merely testifies to the unique mode of perception that apprehends them. For example, on one occasion, when passing the family's room he looks through the open window and amongst other things describes the father as follows:

der Vater am Tisch in der Mitte des Raums stehend, die Hände zu Fäusten geballt, vor sich auf die Tischplatte gestützt, das Licht des Fensters voll auf ihn fallend und das vorgestreckte Gesicht mit dem weit aufgerissenen Mund beleuchtend; und ihm gegenüber, nicht sitzend, sondern in der Kniebeuge hockend der Sohn,⁹²

This description is, in fact, peculiarly incomplete, for since it is restricted purely to the visible reality, it does not indicate whether the father was merely yawning, talking or shouting at his son. Moreover, since the narrator does remark on the open window, we must deduce that the acoustic effects were perceptible. This is significant for, unlike Holz's narrator, he appears to record his experiences and sensations in accordance with a definite hierarchy of the senses, in which sight is primary, hearing secondary and the other three equally subordinate. That touch, smell and taste should only play a minor role in his recording of experience is, perhaps, to be expected, but the impression arises that the narrator regards hearing as a less differentiating, less sensitive and more inaccurate organ of perception than sight, as if he distrusts it for somehow being intrinsically more subjective. Thus, when in the utter confusion of the landlady's room the curtains crash down, it is not so much this inescapable audible reality that attracts his attention as the relatively insignificant but nevertheless visible fact of the captain twiddling his thumbs under his coat-tails. The uncertainty as to the objective status of audible reality, however, is reflected above all in

his recording of human speech. For dialogue, in so far as it is recorded at all in these sketches, is nearly always presented in fragmentary form. This is not, however, as is mostly the case with Holz, how it actually occurs but the narrator's consciously subjective and ambiguous reception of it. He makes no attempt to distil the perceived fragments of speech into a meaningful conversation and on occasions even offers possible alternative versions:

Von den Worten die die Haushälterin. . .äusserte, verstand ich folgende Bruchstücke. . .gestocktes Fett, Schmalz, Gans (ganz); worauf ich die Mutter. . .sagen hörte, wohl schläft losstrampeln, Decke (Deckel) fallen. . .⁹³

The fact that on another occasion he is uncertain whether the house-servant is saying "Wasser sucht", "Wassersucht" or "was er sucht"⁹⁴ indicates that speech has only a phonetic existence for the narrator and that its semantic qualities elude his grasp. His solution is thus to present as fully as possible what he actually hears, as, for example, in his characteristically Holzian, typographical representation of an echo (" . . .noch viel viel zu früh früh, lange noch lange noch nicht zurück zurück")⁹⁵ and to compensate for this acknowledged subjectivity of the audial faculty by relying increasingly on his powers of observation. The primacy of visual response is clear from the way he defines the aim of his act of perception, for he consciously takes up positions at certain "observation posts", such as on the earth-closet and at his bedroom window, "um damit dem Gesehenen eine Kontur zu geben, und das Gesehene zu verdeutlichen, also das Sehen zu einer Beschäftigung machend, . . ."⁹⁶ That he should describe this activity as an "occupation" is significant for, indeed, he is not so much an observer as a voyeur, who prefers to view events rather than participate in them.

This total immersion in the act of observation, however, has certain

consequences for the quality and nature of his perception. Firstly, his descriptions often evince a loss of proportion. When, for example, in examining his own excreta in the earth-closet, he talks of a "lavaar=tiger Wall, in dem der Eimer halb vergraben steht . . .",⁹⁷ at the moment of viewing this phenomenon, as Rose Zeller points out, the narrator has no point of comparison with other objects that would put its dimensions into perspective.⁹⁸ His involvement leads him to view things in such minute close-up that more or less anything would assume similarly immense proportions. The episode on the earth-closet also illustrates the second effect of his immersion in the process of perception, for he remarks that while sitting there he falls into a state of "Selbstvergessenheit".⁹⁹ The extreme passivity induced by the concentration of observing seems to sever his mind from his body and it is only the cold of the exposed parts of the body that eventually reminds him of his physical state and breaks the sense of distance from the self.

The narrator's total passiveness is also mirrored in the dispassionate nature of his depiction of events. He is not so much detached - the word would imply the act of distancing himself, of suppressing feelings - as actually incapable of experiencing emotions. Thus, the description of the doctor, whose wounds might be expected to evoke sympathy, is intended merely to capture the actual condition of the wounds and is concerned only with the sight itself, not with feelings of sympathy. The almost unnatural restraint of this description, like that of the sexual act at the end of the book, on the one hand underlines the degree to which the narrator denies himself the use of any senses other than seeing and hearing but, on the other hand, makes the description distinctly surreal.

This surreal quality is further compounded by the prominence of a

technique similar to that which earlier I termed the "estrangement effect" of Holz's "Sekundenstil", namely, the emphasising or isolating of objects in such a way as to imbue them with a magic autonomy. The evening meal in the boarding-house, for example, is described in the following way:

Die Löffel senken sich in die Schüsseln und steigen, beladen mit Kartoffeln und Rüben, wieder daraus empor, laden die Last auf dem Teller ab und schwingen sich zurück in die Töpfe, füllen sich, leeren sich wieder über den Tellern, wandern weiter hin and her bis jeder auf seinem Teller einen Haufen Kartoffeln und Rüben gesammelt hat der seinem Hunger entspricht. . . Die Löffel heben sich jetzt, gefüllt mit Kartoffelbrocken und Rübenstücken, zu den Mündern empor, die Münder öffnen sich, . . . Die Becher werden an den Mund geführt und die Flüssigkeit dringt in den Mund ein, füllt den Mund aus und gleitet durch die Kehle hinab, . . .¹⁰⁰

Moreover, not only objects but even the bodies and limbs of people appear to take on a life of their own, moving, as it were, of their own volition, independently of human control. So in the landlady's room, when the glasses are being passed round, the narrator notes: "hierbei entstand ein vielfältiges Vorbeugen und Zurseitebeugen der Oberkörper der Anwesenden, ein Kreisen, Auslangen und Einziehen von Armen. . ." ¹⁰¹ This de-personalisation culminates in his description of the act of intercourse which is perceived purely in terms of limbs and movements. On other occasions it can produce an effect remarkably akin to that of the "still lifes" Martini identified in "Papa Hamlet". One such occasion is the example mentioned earlier when the narrator catches a glimpse of the family, on passing an open window in their room. The full description reads as follows:

Vorübergehend an dem offenen Fenster zu ebener Erde erhielt ich einen kurzen Einblick in das Zimmer der Familie, ich nahm den Vater, die Mutter, den Säugling und den Sohn wahr, in folgender Verteilung und gegenseitiger Beziehung: die Mutter sitzend auf dem Rand des Bettes in der Tiefe des Zimmers, halb ins Dunkel gehüllt, mit entblösster Brust und an der Brust den Säugling; der Vater am Tisch in der Mitte des Raumes stehend, die Hände zu Fäusten geballt, vor sich auf die Tischplatte gestützt, das Licht des Fensters voll auf ihn fallend und das vorgestreckte Gesicht mit dem weit aufgerissenen Mund beleuchtend; und ihm gegenüber, nicht sitzend, sondern in der Kniebeuge hockend, der Sohn, das Kinn auf die Tischkante gepresst, die Schultern bis zu den Ohren hinaufgezogen, in den Mund des Vaters hineinstarrend.¹⁰²

This is truly "photographic depiction". For it is not only that the family is de-personalised by the "in folgender Verteilung", a term one would normally use of furniture or inanimate objects, nor simply the fact that the father's mouth is open without apparently emitting any sound - as, of course, would be the case in a photograph - rather it is the great disjunction between actual experienced time, a mere fraction of a second, and narrative time, a lengthy passage, which creates the impression of time standing still, in the same way as a still from a film, for example, has the effect of freezing one particular moment in time. Such static moments symbolise a whole style of perception as do Weiss's collages, which not only reinforce, by their very nature, the idea of photographic representation but also mirror at the same time the narrator's mode of perception in the sense that they itemise and isolate particular details without interrelating or fusing them into a harmonious or significant whole.

This symbolic function is even clearer in the narrator's description of the sexual act that gives the story its title. Here the participants are not even the impersonal, disembodied figures who live in the house; these are mere shadows, devoid of even physical substance. Despite the meticulous, anatomical details this sexual act remains devoid of reality, it is shadow-play only. It is a poor imitation that cannot be true-to-life since the vital ingredient, "life" itself, is missing. As such it symbolises the way in which the narrator perceives reality, a way Karl Krolow has likened to the pinning of a butterfly under glass for inspection.¹⁰³ The fact, the object, is there, is tangible and can be examined, but the essential quality of life is missing and thus it is no longer a completely real butterfly. Similarly, in spite of all his efforts, it is only the "shadow" of reality that the narrator ever attains. He hopes

by capturing in prose the transient detail of life to be able to re-orientate himself in reality. The result, however, far from helping him grasp and comprehend reality, merely expresses and thus intensifies his inability to do precisely that. His prose-style, to repeat once more Osborne's description of the "Sekundenstil", can convey only his sense of loss and anxiety in a fragmented world.

This is equally true of the imaginative work of Dieter Wellershoff whose similarities with Arno Holz extend well beyond the coincidental claim to have founded a new form of realism.¹⁰⁴ In Der Schatten des Körpers des Kutschers Weiss was still working very much within the original territory of consequential Naturalism, namely, the short prose-form and so far that particular work has marked his sole exploration of the possibilities of the style. The interesting thing about Wellershoff is not only that his writing evidences the transposition of certain of Holz's stylistic features on to the novel-form but also that he has consistently, though not exclusively, attempted to develop the possibilities of one particular style.¹⁰⁵ Consequently, although we are concerned here primarily with analysis of Wellershoff's first novel, Ein schöner Tag, the relationship to Holz is not restricted solely to this work. Indeed, Wellershoff's very conceptualisation of literature as "ein der Lebenspraxis beigeordneter Simulationsraum"¹⁰⁶ evokes the familiar idea of the reproduction of reality; and even if Wellershoff's ultimate aim is not merely the reproduction but the illumination of reality, then this, as the following quotation indicates, by no means in itself transcends the critical potential of Holz's style:

(während) die eigentliche Literatur . . . vor allem die gewohnten Schemata angreift und verändert. Sie versucht den Leser zu irritieren, ihm die Sicherheit seiner Vorurteile und gewohnten Handlungs-

sweisen zu nehmen, sie macht ihm das scheinbar Bekannte unvertraut, das Eindeutige vieldeutig. . .und öffnet ihm so neue Erfahrungsmöglichkeiten, die. . .die Enge und Abstraktheit der Routine durchbrechen, auf die er in seiner alltäglichen Praxis angewiesen bleibt.¹⁰⁷

This fundamental statement on the function of literature suggests two immediate similarities with Holz's prose. The effect of divesting the familiar of the familiarity is not, of course, a quality peculiar only to consequential Naturalism but, in fact, as a consideration of Ein schöner Tag will reveal, the manner in which Wellershoff seeks to achieve it, is very much related to the "estrangement effect" of Holz's "Sekundenstil". Moreover, the emphasis Wellershoff lays on the idea of routine and "everyday" reality suggests that his fiction will focus on the banal and evince the same lack of incident and drama that is so characteristic of Holz's subject matter. This is particularly true of Ein schöner Tag, for what we encounter in this study of an ordinary small family living a typically petty-bourgeois existence in Cologne, is the very epitome of "Alltäglichkeit". Indeed, it is the very banality and tedium of their existence that Wellershoff wishes to dissect, for what the novel shows is not a living family relationship but, on the contrary, the breakdown of personal relationships conveyed above all in the total absence of real communication between the three members of the family, a condition which, as we have already noted with Martini, the Naturalist dialogue deployed here is eminently suited to express. Similarly, Wellershoff like Holz evokes mental states by portraying gestures and physical reactions, such as Carla's nervous shrugging of the shoulders or the continual perspiring of all three characters. Above all, it is the sense of existential inertia that the novel conveys:

Ihre persönliche Erlebniswelt beschränkt sich auf die Monotonie ihres Alltags und die Banalität ihrer Lebensumstände. Sie befinden sich in einer monolithischen Dauergegenwart eingekerkert, deren feste Erlebnis- und Denkschablonen weder Vergangenheit noch

Zukunft als mögliche Erfahrungsbereiche gelten lassen. Ihr Leben spielt sich in einem unentrinnbaren, hermetischen Jetzt ab, . . .¹⁰⁸

This corresponds to the static temporal quality of the "Sekundenstil", intensified here by the continuous use of the present tense and further reinforced by the geographical concentration on the family flat to suggest the same sense of physical imprisonment that Holz achieved by focusing uninterruptedly on the Thienwiebels' household in "Papa Hamlet". In fact, Martini's view of "Papa Hamlet", namely, that "das Thema dieser Skizze sind psychische Vorgänge im individuellen Menschen",¹⁰⁹ is equally applicable to Ein schöner Tag, for essentially what Wellershoff presents are three differentiated, individual psychologies that, in turn, represent three specific stages in the breakdown of identity. Analysis of this particular problematic I have provided elsewhere.¹¹⁰ For the purposes of the present discussion, however, I must restrict myself to a consideration of the formal aspect of Wellershoff's work and, in particular, its affinities with Holz's style.

Essentially, what underpins Wellershoff's concept of "Neuer Realismus" and distinguishes it from conventional realism is the rejection of the notion of totality. That is to say, "Neuer Realismus" shares with Naturalism the recognition of the panoramic perspective - what Wellershoff terms "die grosse Attitüde der Deutung des Ganzen"¹¹¹ as a narrative position that is unsuited to embracing and comprehending the multiple relationships and complexities of the many disparate elements that comprise reality. His intention is to present, instead, "eine unüberschaubare, in ihre Einzelteile zerfallene Welt"¹¹² and it is from this basic premise that many of Wellershoff's stylistic features derive. His primary aim, therefore, is to avoid all simplification of reality since this ignores both its inherent variety ("die Mannigfaltigkeit der Welt")¹¹³ and the

necessarily fragmentary nature of the experience of reality. As with Holz, Wellershoff substitutes for a totalising perspective one which focuses on detail and its attendant effects, concreteness and precision. Thus, for example, the simple sentence, "alles ist verdreckt, die ganze Wohnung hat sie verkommen lassen", presents, for Wellershoff, an inadequately differentiated picture and is supplemented by details of the following type:

Im Waschbecken liegen ihre Haare, verfilzt und halb in den Abfluss gerutscht, und in dem angetrockneten Seifenschaum kleben seine Barthaare, das pulvrige graue Gehäcksel aus dem Rasierapparat, kleine Punkte in den Schmutzringen.¹¹⁴

Similarly, it does not suffice simply to state that Günther takes off his clothes; rather the process must be broken down, after the fashion of Holz's falling leaf, into the various individual moments and stages in the act of undressing:

Er bückt sich und knüpft die Schuhe auf, lehnt sich aufatmend wieder zurück. Im Sitzen bindet er die Krawatte ab und öffnet den Hemdkragen, bleibt so eine Weile, die Arme neben sich auf den Sessellehnen, mit gespreizten Fingern fühlt er die Polsternägel vorne am Wulst. Nacheinander hebt er die Finger und setzt sie wieder auf. Er blickt auf seine aufgeknüpften Schuhe und legt den Kopf zurück.¹¹⁵

Wellershoff calls this inventory-style "die Technik der Häufung der Realitätselemente"¹¹⁶ but in its stark details and flat narratorial language, with the repeated, basic syntactical formation of subject-predicate-object, the almost intentionally monotonous succession of similarly structured sentences without either conjunctions or subordinate clauses and with the exclusion of figurative or metaphorical phrases, Wellershoff's prose is highly redolent of Holz's narrative style.

The fragmentation of reality that Wellershoff chooses as his perspective also has the consequences for narrative structure that were identified in Holz's sketches, namely, the eschewing of a precisely structured "plot". In Ein schöner Tag the reader is confronted not so much

with a story in the conventional sense as with a series of detailed episodes, "Wirklichkeitsbilder", which could just as easily be given titles such as "Nachts nicht einschlafen können", "In der Stadt", "Anzug kaufen" etc. Failure to recognise this narrative principle can lead to a misinterpretation of the conclusion of Ein schöner Tag, for the birthday at the end of the novel is not, as Gunther Zehm proposes,¹¹⁷ an artificial happy ending but rather the converse: it is neither happy, nor in reality an ending, but rather the ironisation of a self-perpetuating condition. The father's sense of happiness is merely a willing self-deception at the restoration of the family circle. No special significance is to be attached to these particular events in the novel. The implication is that Wellershoff could just as easily have portrayed the situation of this family at an earlier or later point in time.

All these features of Wellershoff's writing suggest unmistakable affinities with consequential Naturalism. However, undoubtedly the most crucial aspect of Wellershoff's work is the problem of perspective and in this respect the most interesting thing is that, despite widely differing theoretical statements, in their prose-style Holz and Wellershoff nevertheless achieve a remarkably similar perspectival effect. The narrative focus which Wellershoff selects is the opposite to that of objectivity, distance and detachment. His "Neuer Realismus" is characterised, above all, by a total subjectivisation of perspective that he describes as follows:

Realistisch. . . wäre eine bewegte, subjektive Optik, die durch Zeitdehnung und Zeitraffung und den Wechsel zwischen Totale und Detail, Nähe und Ferne, Schärfe und Verschwommenheit des Blickfeldes, Bewegung und Stillstand, langer und kurzer Einstellung und den Wechsel von Innen-und Aussenwelt die konventionelle Ansicht eines bekannten Vorgangs und einer bekannten Situation so auflöst und verändert, dass eine neue Erfahrung entsteht. Die subjektive Blickführung, verwandt den Kamerabewegungen des Films, demontiert die konventionellen Sinneinheiten, zerlegt und verzerrt sie, isoliert Einzelheiten, macht sie auffällig, zeigt das Fremde, Ungesehene

im scheinbar Bekannten und fügt neue ungewöhnliche Komplexe zusammen.¹¹⁸

The reader is thus denied the secure position of observer that traditional realism affords him; rather "er wird. . .hineingestossen in einen Fiktionsraum, der sich erst allmählich und vielleicht nie richtig, nie endgültig erschliesst, der aber auch keine Fenster, keine Tür in ein sicheres Ausserhalb hat."¹¹⁹ In Wellershoff's novels, therefore, reality is presented only as it is experienced by particular individuals and events are related only when and in so far as those individuals experience them. Furthermore, this process of subjectivisation also encompasses dialogue so that the reader hears conversation not as an objective reality but as the experience of one of its participants. In Ein schöner Tag the subjective narrative position is, in fact, divided into the three separate perspectives of the members of the family, and the narration alternates, chapter by chapter, from one to the other.

Wellershoff's concept of the subjectivised perspective is not, however, unproblematical. Clearly, what he intends is the elimination of the narrator, of a consciousness, that is, independent of the character(s) in whom the perspective is located and yet, this is not the equivalent of the traditional first person narrative. Rather the effect he achieves can be described as follows:

Es wird in der Er-Form erzählt, aber dennoch zugleich in der subjektiven Perspektive. Das Er ist nicht Er, aber auch nicht einfach Ich. Das hat zur Folge, dass die Grenzen zwischen dem Menschen als Subjekt und dem Menschen als Objekt der Erzählung sich verwischen, aber nicht gänzlich verschwinden.¹²⁰

The fact thus remains that Wellershoff does not wholly succeed in eliminating the narrator as a mediating consciousness, since certain elements of the text evidence an independently registering presence and thus puncture the intended total subjectivisation. To take one particular example: when, in Ein schöner Tag, it is said of Carla's classroom at school,

"der Raum ist mit Gesichtern gefleckt", then clearly this remark reflects Carla's inner state as she watches the class, but when we read a few lines earlier the sentence, "sie geht auf die Tür zu",¹²¹ then equally clearly this statement emanates from a consciousness that is in no sense identical with the "sie", i.e. with Carla. The following examples illustrate similar tendencies:

1. Ich will es nicht, denkt er, es deprimiert mich nur, ich muss an eine Frau denken. . .¹²²
2. Erst als er an seinem kleinen Sekretär unter dem Seestück und den gerahmten Fotografien sitzt, gesteht er sich ein, dass er wartet.¹²³
3. "Warum essen Sie nicht?" fragt sein Nachbar, der Siems heisst, den er auf dem Friedhof getroffen hat, nach Jahren, nach zwanzig Jahren. . .¹²⁴
4. Sie lächeln sich an, und gleichzeitig wenden sie sich zum Gehen, immer noch lächelnd und für einen Augenblick in puppenhafter Harmonie.¹²⁵

In the first two examples we find instances of what Käte Hamburger calls "inner verbs", i.e. verbs which denote inner processes.¹²⁶ The words "denkt er" are superfluous since they merely interrupt the flow of consciousness and actually create a distance between the character and the reader. Similarly, the interjected "gesteht er sich ein" does not belong directly to the thought-process related, but constitutes an interpretative comment on the thought itself. In the third example, the words, "der Siems heisst", are only provided as information for the reader, since the name would have occurred to the subject of this passage much earlier in the encounter. Finally, the metaphor in the last quotation clearly belongs not to Carla's but to the narrator's vocabulary.

This irrepressible narratorial presence has the further consequence of counteracting the desired effect of destroying the objectivity of the dialogue. In Ein schöner Tag the reader is aware that in the various

chapters of the novel the perspective alternates between the figures, but there is nothing further to make him doubt the objective validity of the dialogue. On one occasion, however, in a conversation between Carla and Fräulein Stefany, Wellershoff does succeed in arousing precisely that impression:

Draussen sagt die Stefany, das sei jedesmal so, sie solle sich nicht beeindrucken lassen, das Weinen gehöre bei ihrer Mutter zum Zeremoniell. Während der Rückfahrt sprechen sie über die Schule. . . Sie unterhalten sich noch weiter im Auto, als sie vor dem Haus stehen. . Sie will sich beim Vorstand des Heims für sie einsetzen, damit sie einen Platz für den Vater bekommt und nicht auf die Warteliste muss, aber auch jetzt könnten sie sich doch öfter treffen und einen Ausflug machen, sie könnten es dabei weiter besprechen, es sei sicher jetzt schwierig für sie, das könne man verstehen. Sie widerspricht nicht.¹²⁷

In this instance, the impression suggested earlier that Carla's attention is occupied by thoughts other than this particular topic, is combined with a stylistic device in order to evoke in the reader the feeling that he or she is experiencing the conversation very much from the position of one of the participants, whose mind is, as it were, elsewhere. And yet, it is this very exception which proves the rule for, basically, the reader only interprets this conversation as a subjective experience and not an objective event because the passage is written at the relevant points in the subjunctive. Needless to say, however, it would be stylistically intolerable to present all dialogue in the novel in this form.

I have been at some pains to demonstrate that Wellershoff does not succeed in translating his idea of the absolute subjectivisation of perspective into actual literary practice, since I believe that what he does, in fact, produce is an effect with which we are already familiar from our discussion of Holz's prose. The following passage from Ein schöner Tag illustrates the technique to which I refer:

Er hat die Arme auf dem Rücken und kreuzt sie jetzt über der Brust.

Genau gegenüber sitzt eine Gruppe von jungen Mädchen, die ihre Beine ins Wasser hängen lassen, eine streckt beide Beine über das Wasser und schaukelt auf der Kante, als wollte sie gleich vornüberkippen, dabei spricht sie weiter zu den anderen neben sich, es sind sicher Schülerinnen, die jeden Nachmittag hier im Schwimmbad sind. Und das sind Jungen aus ihrer Schule, die spritzend durch die Fussrinne laufen und sie ins Becken stossen. Er sieht, wie die Mädchen schreien, kann nicht viel hören, weil um ihn herum Geschrei ist und der Lärm des Nichtschwimmerbeckens. . .¹²⁸

Despite Wellershoff's intention there are two distinct perspectives here: that of a detached, observing narrator, recording the exact details of the swimming-pool setting and that of Günther, reflecting on the scene he surveys. In the phrase, "es sind sicher Schülerinnen", it is the word "sicher" which signals the transition from narratorial perspective to Günther's perceptions and thoughts. This interaction of objective and subjective response, the subtle interpenetration of character's thoughts and narratorial voice is clearly recognisable as the shifting perspective identified in Holz's prose. There are, however, three minor ways in which Wellershoff's usage of free indirect style differs from Holz's. Firstly, since in each chapter one particular character provides the focal point, the shift in perspective is restricted to that character and the narrator and does not develop into the truly multiple perspective that prevails, for example, in "Papa Hamlet". Correlatively, Wellershoff's conscious subjectivisation facilitates the tendency for the free indirect style to develop into inner monologue. Thirdly, Wellershoff is less consistent than Holz in the differentiation between language-registers that is so crucial to the effectiveness of the free indirect style. Whereas in Holz's sketches it is nearly always possible to distinguish the educated, literary language of the narrator (if not his irony) from that of the characters, in Ein schöner Tag this distinction is often blurred. When, for example, Carla's father thinks about his daughter, "sie ist ein Fleck

dort in der Tür",¹²⁹ or Günther reacts to the heat as "ein Glänzen, das die Gegenstände ver mummt, das auf ihnen klebt als ein Belag, ein heller dünn gestrichener Schleim",¹³⁰ then this intellectualised language makes it exceedingly difficult for the reader to identify the experiences these words represent as those of the actual characters. In a sense, therefore, the individual perspectives are insufficiently subjectivised. The curious thing about both writers' use of the free indirect style, however, is the paradoxical effect it has within their respective styles. With Holz, who was, according to one point of view, supposedly aiming at absolute objectivity, it constitutes a subjectivising tendency, while in Wellershoff, whose intention is total subjectivisation, it reasserts the presence of the narrator and thus represents to a certain extent an objectivising tendency.

This paradox, however, in no sense invalidates the clear relationship between Wellershoff's "Neuer Realismus" and Holz's consequential Naturalism, an affinity, which, as his response to the above analysis shows, Wellershoff himself readily acknowledges:

Es ist richtig, wenn Burns in seiner. . . Analyse des "Schönen Tages" die Verwandtschaft zu naturalistischen Schreibweisen nachweist und die Gefahr, dass der Text in die Faktographie abrutscht. Ich habe das für mich immer so rationalisiert, dass das Zerfallen der Welt in Einzelfakten eben die Struktur der Zukunftslosigkeit des Lebens ausdrückt. Aber ich sehe jetzt doch, dass der Text stellenweise in der Gefahr ist, in die Nähe der Aufzählung zu geraten.¹³¹

It is, however, an indication of the disrepute in which Naturalism as a whole is held that Wellershoff should consider this affinity as a weakness. This is undoubtedly because, concerned as he is primarily to illuminate reality, Wellershoff can only equate consequential Naturalism with an essentially positivistic reproduction of reality. Ironically, much though he himself has done to extend the critical possibilities of Holz's prose-style, he fails to appreciate, unlike Martini or Schulz, that Holz's

literary aim also was, perhaps, not dissimilar to his own, namely:

"Dichtung zum Erkenntnismittel selbst zu machen."¹³²

(iii) OBJECTIVIST AND SUBJECTIVIST NARRATION IN DÖBLIN'S "BERLIN ALEXANDERPLATZ"

The work of Alfred Döblin merits special attention here for two reasons. Firstly, his most successful literary achievement, Berlin Alexanderplatz, actually draws on not one but both of the tendencies in Holz's prose-work, for as Herbert Scherer has observed, at one level the novel can be seen as the formal representation of "the conflict between objectivity and subjectivity."¹ That is to say, Döblin actually fuses within the context of a single literary work - and, in my opinion, in a hitherto unique manner - the objectivist and subjectivist modes of consequential Naturalism. Furthermore, Döblin's work is also of special significance in that it contains not only a positive appraisal of Naturalism in general but also an acknowledged debt to the work of Arno Holz in particular.²

The very title of the essay, "Der Geist des naturalistischen Zeitalters", for example, indicates what the essay itself makes clear, namely, that Döblin rejected the common but restrictive identification of Naturalism with a scientific materialism³ and regarded it much more in terms akin to those of Jost Hermand's broader conception (quoted above). Moreover, when, in another context, he speaks of "Naturalismus im echten und vorbildlichen Sinn von Arno Holz",⁴ it is thus clear with which German writer Döblin primarily identifies such a conception of Naturalism. He points to the enduring relevance of Holz's theoretical writings expressing, for example, Holz's idea of the social determinacy of literature in the recognition: "dass jede poetische Technik eng mit den Lebensverhältnissen der Nation verflochten ist; diese aber ändern sich und mit ihnen unterliegt die Technik dem historischen Wechsel der Dinge."⁵ Similarly, Döblin finds Holz's discussion of language, in particular his problematisation of its relationship to reality, a fruitful one. Not surprisingly, perhaps, Döblin there-

fore regards Holz's "Kunstgesetz" as a significant stage in both Holz's and Naturalism's development. What is surprising, however, is just how unproblematical Döblin considers this law to be, for having quoted Holz's original formulation, he continues:

Ich drücke das einfach so aus: Holz will einen Ausschnitt Proletarier=existenz geben, diese Proletarierexistenz ist Natur, Reproduktionsbedingungen sind die derzeitigen Theater- und Bühnenverhältnisse, die Regietechnik, die literarischen Ausdrucksmittel des Autors.⁶

The political concreteness of this statement, markedly incongruous with the abstractness of Holz's own formulation, presumably derives from Döblin's view that underpinning Holz's Naturalism there was to be found what he terms a "materialist Socialism".⁷ Arguably, however, such an interpretation reveals more about the assumptions underlying Döblin's own writing at the time than Holz's.⁸ Returning to this problem in a later essay, however, he argues more modestly that what Holz in fact meant by "Natur" was "die unentstellte Wahrheit und ihre Fülle".⁹ The significant thing about the two interpretations is that the first defines "Natur" above all in terms of a particularised content ("Proletarierexistenz") whereas the second relates primarily to the mode of literary representation ("unentstellte/Fülle"). There is no reason to believe, however, that in proffering the narrower definition Döblin was thus oblivious to the formal considerations he expressed in his later formulation. Indeed, I believe consideration of two crucial works, both published in 1929, the year before the first Holz essay appeared, demonstrates that precisely the opposite was the case. The two works are Döblin's essay, "Der Bau des epischen Werks", and his novel, Berlin Alexanderplatz.¹⁰ It is common practice to see in the latter the transformation into fiction of the principles explicated in the former. The task here, however, is not to explore in detail that particular relationship, nor can it be to offer a complete reading of Döblin's

novel. Rather I wish to look at Berlin Alexanderplatz in a different light, namely, as a work which has, more successfully than any before or since, at once both appropriated and transcended and, as will be shown, thus intensified those stylistic elements I have identified as constituting the two separate modes of consequential Naturalism.

One of the primary concerns of "Der Bau des epischen Werks" is to demonstrate the validity of the following two assertions: "Die Kunstwerke haben es mit der Wahrheit zu tun. Der epische Künstler kann auch heute noch in vollem Ernst die Berichtform gebrauchen."¹¹ In other words, Döblin here addresses himself to the problem with which Holz was primarily concerned, namely, the aim and the mode of the literary reproduction of reality and in Döblin's view a central category for the epic artist must be that of "proximity": "er muss ganz nahe an die Realität heran, an ihre Sachlichkeit, ihr Blut, ihren Geruch. . ."¹² Was macht das epische Werk aus? Das Vermögen seines Herstellers, dicht an die Realität zu dringen. . ."¹³ As a literary technique proximity involves, on the one hand, a concern with detail and a striving towards totality (exemplified in Döblin's use of such words as "Fülle", "Reichtum"¹⁴, "ihr unbeschreiblich grosses Inventar"¹⁵ to qualify the notion of reality) and, on the other hand, a commitment to empiricism as the ideal starting-point for epic narration. Describing the origin and style of Berlin Alexanderplatz, for instance, Döblin explains:

Ich kenne den Berliner Osten seit Jahrzehnten, . . . Hier sah ich nun einen interessanten und so überaus wahren und noch nicht ausgeschriebenen Schlag von Menschen. Ich habe diesen Menschenschlag zu den verschiedensten Zeiten und in den verschiedensten Lagen beobachten können, und zwar beobachten in der Weise, die die einzig wahre ist, nämlich indem man mitlebt, mithandelt, mitleidet.¹⁶

Clearly, the concept of proximity would apply equally well to the method of consequential Naturalism and it is hardly surprising, therefore, that its literary realisation in Berlin Alexanderplatz has stylistic consequences

similar to that of Holz's prose. The first of these is what Döblin has termed above "Sachlichkeit", a stylistic and syntactical characteristic with which we are well acquainted through analysis of Holz's creative writing. The following is a typical example of how such a style is deployed by Döblin:

Am Alexanderplatz reissen sie den Damm auf für die Untergrundbahn. Man geht auf Brettern. Die Elektrischen fahren über den Platz die Alexanderstrasse herauf durch die Münzstrasse zum Rosenthaler Tor. Rechts und links sind Strassen. In den Strassen steht Haus bei Haus. Die sind vom Keller bis zum Boden mit Menschen voll. Unten sind die Laden.

Destillen, Restaurationen, Obst- und Gemüsehandel, Kolonialwaren und Feinkost, Fuhrgeschäft, Dekorationsmalerei, Anfertigung von Damenkonfektion, Mehl und Mühlenfabrikate, Autogarage, Feuersozietät. . .¹⁷

The first paragraph reveals the familiar, short sentence-structure and syntactical simplicity of Holz's narration, while the second utilises the process of itemisation which, as was noted earlier, forms the underlying, structuring principle of the "Sekundenstil". Elsewhere, however, Döblin develops this technique into a major component of the novel, one which Erich Hülse has termed "Tatsachenreportage".¹⁸ By this is meant the direct incorporation into the text of elements such as newspaper cuttings, weather reports, statistics, advertisements etc. but, significantly, in explaining his predilection for the factual in this particular form, Döblin still remains firmly within Holz's frame of reference: "Ich gebe zu, dass mich noch heute Mitteilungen von Fakta, Dokumente beglücken, aber Dokumente, Fakta, wissen Sie, warum? Da spricht der grosse Epiker, die Natur, zu mir. . ." ¹⁹

The second manifestation of the idea of proximity is the language Döblin considers essential to epic narration. This, he argues, cannot be the language of abstraction but, on the contrary, must be "(der) lebende(n) Sprache. . .ein blühendes, konkretes Phänomen".²⁰ Such language,

Döblin insists, is a "Produktivkraft",²¹ particularly, he remarks à propos of Berlin Alexanderplatz, the language of Berlin: "die gesprochene Berliner Sprache; aus ihr konnte ich schöpfen. . ." ²² Thus the dialogue, with its rich Berlin dialect and jargon, is a vital part of the novel's texture, constituting, as in consequential Naturalism, an important element of characterisation. So, for example, the two moods in Franz Biberkopf of frivolity and shocked disbelief are effectively conveyed in the following by the use of naturalistic dialogue:

"Cilly, uffn Schoss setzen, jetzt nich. Und hau mir man nich gleich. Bist mein Pusselken. Nu rat mal, mit wem dass ich zusammen war."
 "Will ich gar nicht wissen." "Schnutekan, Killikilliken, also mit wem? Mit - Rheinhold."²³ . . .
 "Um Gotteswillen, wat wollen wir machen, Eva, wat wolln wir machen". .
 "Wat is det, Eva, wat is mit unser Miezeken los, wat is denn passiert, die is tot, mit der is wat passiert, jetzt is es raus, die is nich weg von mir, die hat einer umgebracht, Eva, unser Miezeken hat eener umgebracht, mein Miezeken, wat is denn los, is denn det wahr, sag mir, det is nich wahr."²⁴

The impetus for this use of language is not difficult to ascertain, for Döblin counts it as one of Holz's major achievements that "er ist gegen die Kunstsprache. . .aufgetreten und hat zur natürlichen Sprache des Volkes und seiner Melodie gedrängt."²⁵

The third and most important aspect of proximity, however, is what we can call the "immediacy" of depiction. Döblin emphasises this point by entitling one of the sections of the essay "Die Epik erzählt nicht Vergangenes, sondern stellt dar" and by insisting that "alle Darstellung ist gegenwärtig".²⁶ Later in the essay he elaborates on what this notion of literary immediacy entails:

Der Leser macht also den Produktionsprozess mit dem Autor mit. Alle epischen Werke haben es mit dem Werden und Geschehen zu tun, und so, möchte ich sagen, ist es auch in der Ordnung, dass der epische Bericht nicht fertig vorgelegt wird und angeschwirrt kommt aus der Pistole geschossen, sondern der Leser erlebt ihn in statu nascendi.²⁷

Moreover, he adds, this effect can never be reduced to the simple level of a technical problem and is in no sense contingent on the narrative being in the present tense, a fact aptly demonstrated by the tense-scheme of Berlin Alexanderplatz, in which Döblin alternates in apparently arbitrary fashion between the present, perfect and imperfect tense. In the novel as a whole the effect of immediacy, while a dominant one, particularly in the "Grossstadt"-sections, is not, however, monolithic since there are certain narrative elements which manifestly and quite intentionally puncture the immediacy. I shall return to this later, however, when discussing the problem of narrative perspective in Berlin Alexanderplatz. As far as the relationship to Holz is concerned, hopefully, this is self-evident since, in my analysis of Holz's sketches, I sought to demonstrate to what degree the idea of immediacy is an intrinsic characteristic of consequential Naturalism.

One of the best examples of proximity in Döblin's work - and one which offers, at the same time, the most striking and direct parallel to the style of consequential Naturalism - is the extended passage in Berlin Alexanderplatz describing the Berlin abattoir. The episode begins in typically laconic fashion. "Der Schlachthof in Berlin",²⁸ describing the geographical location of the establishment before focusing in minute detail on the animals and the process of slaughter:

Über die Viehrampen mähen, blöken sie herunter. Die Schweine grunzen und schnüffeln am Boden, sie sehen nicht, wo es hingeht, die Treiber mit den Stecken laufen hinterher. In die Ställe, da legen sie sich hin, liegen weiss, feist beieinander, schnarchen, schlafen. Sie sind lange getrieben worden, dann gerüttelt in den Wagen, jetzt vibriert nichts unter ihnen, nur kalt sind die Fliesen, sie wachen auf, drängen an andere. Sie liegen übereinandergeschoben. Da kämpfen zwei, in der Bucht ist Platz, sie wühlen Kopf gegen Kopf, schnappen sich gegen die Hälse, die Ohren, drehen sich im Kreis, röcheln, manchmal sind sie ganz still, beissen bloss. In Furcht klettert eins über die Leiber der andern, das andere klettert hinterher, schnappt,

die unten wühlen sich auf, die beiden plumpen herunter, suchen sich.²⁹

The description continues for several pages - almost a little Naturalist sketch in itself - but the detached tone of the experiencing observer never gives way to sensationalism or over-dramatisation despite the evident brutality of the scene. Another example, this time of linguistic "Sekundenstil", occurs when Döblin reproduces at length the sales-patter of a salesman at a local market.³⁰

Where Döblin transcends and thus develops the function of consequential Naturalism is in his technique of combining various disparate fragments of such closely viewed reality to form a collage that in their overall, combined effect evoke not so much the experience of proximity as the distance of a panorama. The first chapter of Book Two, entitled "Franz Biberkopf betritt Berlin", provides an excellent example. The first part focuses on the Rosenthaler Platz, creating a general picture of the everyday activity taking place there and is followed by a collage, consisting of official notices from a newspaper, a weather-report, various details of the Berlin public transport system and of the general milieu of the Rosenthaler Platz, such as street-names, advertisements etc. In the middle of this collage - with what must be the literary equivalent of the film camera's "zoom-in" technique - we suddenly read the stark phrase, "Kleine Kneipe am Rosenthaler Platz",³¹ and there follows the strictly naturalistic episode of a dialogue between two men in a public house with the camera then, as it were, panning out again at the end of the chapter. With this technique Döblin succeeds in throwing into relief the various episodes while, at the same time, by doing precisely that, in fact emphasising the effect of proximity in the individual scene. The rapid change of perspective thus never allows the reader to become totally immersed in,

and so possibly inured to, one particular effect. In transcending the specific effect, Döblin here actually intensifies it.

The idea of proximity, important though it is for the present discussion, constitutes for Döblin, it must be emphasised, merely one element of epic narration. Allied to that must always be what he terms "das Exemplarische".³² That is to say, the epic writer can never be content merely to imitate and reproduce surface reality; rather he must penetrate beyond that reality "um zu gelangen zu den einfachen grossen elementaren Grundsituationen und Figuren des menschlichen Daseins."³³ I have already pointed out how the Naturalists' concern with the specificity of the particular militates against the notion of typicality and in so far as Döblin deploys in his fiction certain similar methods of depiction he is thus, to a certain extent, confronted with the same problem. Certainly Holz, since he operated exclusively within the confines of the short prose-form, was, with one significant exception, never able to transcend the particularising tendency inherent in his literary method. That exception, I have suggested, is "Papa Hamlet" and it is this which provides the most interesting similarity between Holz's work and Döblin's. That is to say, those tendencies which, I argued, imported to Holz's sketch a dimension over and above the significance of the particular, are even more fully developed in Berlin Alexanderplatz.

Especially important in this regard is Döblin's usage of quotation. In the analysis of "Papa Hamlet" I showed how Holz employed the quotations from Shakespeare partly in order to counterpose another level of existence to the banality and decadence of the Thienwiebels' household. Similarly, the effect of the passages from the Bible that are quoted in Berlin Alexanderplatz is to relativise both the novel's concern with the purely individual fate of Franz Biberkopf as well as its pre-occupation with

one particular realm of existence, namely, the everyday reality of the "Grossstadt". Erich Hülse describes this process as follows:

. . .mit der Tatsachenreportage bleibt Döblin auf dem Boden der überschaubaren Wirklichkeit; die Bibelzitate dagegen eröffnen einen neuen Raum, sie übersteigen die Ebene des Alltäglichen, in dem der Roman mit seiner vordergründigen Handlung spielt. Die Realität wird durchstossen. . .und erreicht eine "überreale Sphäre", das ist die Sphäre einer neuen Wahrheit und einer ganz besonderen Realität. Erst das Durchstossen der Realität erhebt die Geschichte von Franz Biberkopf in den Rang des Exemplarischen. Indem durch die Bibelzitate und freie Variationen über Bibeltexte die Fäden zum Mythischen geknüpft werden, wird die Geschichte zum Beispiel schlechthin, zum "Enthüllungsprozess besonderer Art", zur Geschichte vom wahren und aufhellenden Dasein.³⁴

This defines the collective significance of the biblical passages but individually the quotations have the further function of symbolising either the course of events or a character's inner state. At the beginning of Book Two, for example, there appears for the first time the Garden-of-Eden motif, an image of happiness and harmony that clearly relates to Biberkopf's psychological condition of contentment at the prospect of beginning a new life in Berlin. The second appearance of this Paradise motif is in the description of a pub brawl symbolising, perhaps, Biberkopf's ideal, his desire for peace and order. The theme's third occurrence, however, brings an important change with the arrival of the serpent: "Da raschelte es in einem Baum; eine Schlange, Schlange, Schlange streckte den Kopf vor, eine Schlange lebte im Paradies, und die war listiger als alle Tiere des Feldes und fing an zu sprechen, zu Adam und Eva zu sprechen."³⁵ The image of peace and harmony is thereby destroyed and this anticipation of evil is reflected in the action of the novel immediately after in the deception of Biberkopf by his friend, Lüders. Shortly afterwards the serpent warns Adam and Eve that bad times are approaching which, once again, is really a disguised warning for Biberkopf. This biblical symbol, in fact only one of many in the novel, thus appears four times and with a different

function on each occasion. Where such quotations fulfil a symbolic function, they correspond to what I earlier termed an inorganic symbol. In my discussion of "Papa Hamlet" I pointed to another type of symbolic element, namely, the "Stimmungsträger". This, too, is deployed by Döblin, as, for example, in the abattoir episode in which, due to the impact and intensity of the description, the scene would appear to reflect the brutality not just of the slaughter-house but of life itself. Significantly, in his discussion of this technique in Berlin Alexanderplatz, Martini expressly relates it to the work of Arno Holz.³⁶

The biblical passages in Berlin Alexanderplatz, however, do not exhaust Döblin's use of quotation. On other occasions he combines fragments of classical literature with other material such as popular songs, children's nursery rhymes, advertisements etc. For example, Biberkopf recites at one point a poem he has learnt from a fellow-prisoner:

Willst du, o Mensch, auf dieser Erden ein männliches Subjekte werden,
dann überleg es dir genau, eh du dich von der weisen Frau ans Tag=
licht befördern lässt! Die Erde ist ein Jammernest! Glaub es dem
Dichter dieser Strophen, der oft an dieser dofen, an dieser harten
Speise kaut! Zitat aus Goethes Faust geklaut: Der Mensch ist seines
Lebens froh gewöhnlich nur als Embryo! . . . Nun frag ich dich, o
Freund, mit Beben, was ist der Mensch, was ist das Leben? Schon
unser grosser Schiller spricht: "Der Güter höchstes ist es nicht."
Ich aber sag: es gleicht ner Hühnerleiter, von oben bis unten und
so weiter.³⁷

This is the same process of de-contextualisation and "Sinnentleerung" that Holz also uses with some of the quotations from Hamlet and, as Martini rightly argues, Holz can thus be seen to have anticipated the technique of "epic quotation" developed by Döblin in Berlin Alexanderplatz.³⁸

In Das Zitat in der Erzählkunst Hermann Meyer proposes the following idea as the central premise of his study of quotation:

(es) fällt immer wieder auf, dass sich die Leistung der verwendeten Zitate nicht auf deren gehaltliche Aussage beschränkt, sondern dass

sie in übergreifende Zusammenhänge gestalthafter Art hineingestellt werden und in diesen eine wesentliche Aufgabe erfüllen.³⁹

This is certainly true of both "Papa Hamlet" and Berlin Alexanderplatz and although Meyer does not, in fact, analyse the use of quotation in Holz's sketch, the similarity between the two is nevertheless clear. Meyer's reference to the idea of "gestalten", however, indicates another area of even more substantial affinity, namely, the problem of narrative perspective.

In an essay on the historical novel Döblin discusses the status of the author in terms which suggest an obvious relationship to Naturalism:

Im Augenblick, wo der Roman die genannte neue Funktion einer speziellen Wirklichkeitsentdeckung und -darstellung erlangt hat, ist der Autor schwer Dichter oder Schriftsteller zu nennen, sondern er ist eine besondere Art Wissenschaftler. Er ist in spezieller Legierung Psychologe, Philosoph, Gesellschaftsbeobachter.⁴⁰

These three roles which Döblin ascribes to the author correspond, roughly speaking, to the three different functions that the narrator fulfils in Berlin Alexanderplatz. That of the "Gesellschaftsbeobachter" and its similarity, as regards technique, to consequential Naturalism have been discussed earlier. In this guise the narrator appears primarily in the form of a reporter of events, who restricts his task to that of registering the reality that confronts him and who is concerned above all to convey the immediacy of the experience. Moreover, as with consequential Naturalism, this leads certain critics to speak of the "disappearance" of the narrator: "Über weite Strecken hin will es scheinen, als erzähle die grosse Stadt sich selbst, als träten die Texte in den Roman, ohne dass sie noch des aufnehmenden und erzählend wiedergebenden Vermittlers bedürften."⁴¹ Indeed, Walter Jens expresses the significance of immediacy in even broader terms: "Die klassische Literatur des Ich wandelte sich endgültig zur Literatur des Ist, das Vorgetragene und nicht der Autor

bestimmte den Ablauf des Geschehens."⁴² As in "Papa Hamlet", however, the narrator in Berlin Alexanderplatz can be said to disappear in another sense, namely, in his elimination as a direct presence in favour of the fictional characters he presents. It is this concern with the consciousness of characters that might allow us to speak, with Döblin, of the role of the narrator as psychologist.

Moreover, Döblin follows the methods for achieving this effect which were identified in "Papa Hamlet", namely, those of perspectivised narration, free indirect style and inner monologue. Thus, when at the beginning of the novel the narrator repeatedly refers to Biberkopf as "der Entlassene" or "der Strafantlassene",⁴³ then this designation, while lacking the element of irony in Holz's "der grosse Thienwiebel", nevertheless fulfils the similar function of evoking the subjectivised perspective of the character's own self-awareness. Similarly, when in the description of Minna's rape by Biberkopf we read: "Sie lässt lässt lässt ihm ihren Mund, sie erweicht wie im Bad", we can see in this the narrator's attempt to translate into his (on this occasion) almost lyrical language the physical sensations which Minna is experiencing. However, when the passage continues "sie zerfließt wie Wasser, es ist schon gut",⁴⁴ it is clear that Döblin wishes to convey the experiential level more directly than with only perspectivised narration. In "Papa Hamlet" Holz achieved this through the use of free indirect style and this technique is also used by Döblin in Berlin Alexanderplatz as in the following example:

Franz handelt nun völkische Zeitungen. Er hat nichts gegen die Juden, aber er ist für Ordnung. Denn Ordnung muss im Paradiese sein, das sieht ja wohl ein jeder ein. Und der Stahlhelm, die Jungens hat er gesehen, und ihre Führer auch, das ist was.⁴⁵

Although, syntactically, the passage appears to have the status of narratorial statement, in fact it consists, apart from the first sentence, of

Biberkopf's thoughts presented in the free indirect style. However, whereas in "Papa Hamlet" Holz's tendency was to expand such passages of free indirect style into indirect inner monologues, Döblin prefers to convey characterial consciousness even more directly either through the stream-of-consciousness-technique or the inner monologue proper, as in the following example:

Er hat Lina am Arm, blickt sich auf der finsternen Strasse um. Könnten auch mehr Laternen anstecken. Was wollen die Leute von einem, erst die Schwulen, die einen nichts angehen, jetzt die Roten. Was geht mich das alles an, sollen ihren Mist alleene fahren. Sollen einen sitzen lassen, wo man sitzt; nicht mal sein Bier kann man ruhig austrinken. Am liebsten geh ich zurück und hau dem Henschke seinen ganzen Laden in Klump. Es flackert wieder und pulsiert in Franzens Augen; seine Stirn und Nase wird dick.⁴⁶

Where Döblin particularly refines the technique that Holz was beginning to develop in his subjectivist prose is in the intensification of the element of ambiguity that, I argued, constituted one characteristic of the narrative perspective of "Papa Hamlet". One way in which this arises is that Döblin increasingly tends to elide the distinction between the language of the narrator and that of the characters. Whereas in "Papa Hamlet" the narrator can usually be distinguished by his articulate, educated style, in Berlin Alexanderplatz this separate linguistic identity is gradually dissolved as the narrator tends more and more towards the colloquial Berlin jargon of his characters. More crucially, however, Döblin often combines all the various possibilities of narrative perspective in such a way as to more or less totally collapse any immediately discernible distinction between narratorial and characterial perspective. The result, as the following lengthy passage illustrates, is not just the weakening but rather the total loss of any fixed narrative centre:

Sie unterhalten sich weiter, Franz isst und trinkt gemütlich, denkt an Lina und dass das Vögelchen im Schlaf nicht abkippt und sieht rüber, wer da eigentlich Pfeife raucht. Kasse hat er heute ganz schön gemacht, aber kalt wars. Von drüben verfolgen immer welche,

wie er isst. Die haben wohl Furcht, ich werd mir verschluckern. Es hat mal einen gegeben, der hat eine Wurststulle gegessen, und wie sie im Magen war, hat sie sich besonnen und ist nochmal rauf= gekommen in den Hals und hat gesagt: war kein Mostrich bei! und dann ist sie erst richtig runtergegangen. Das macht die richtige Wurststulle, die wo von guten Eltern ist. Und wie Franz fertig ist und sein Bier hintergiesst, richtig ruft der schon rüber: "Nu, wie ist, Kollege, willst du uns nu was vorsingen?" Die bilden wohl einen Gesangverein, können wir Eintritt nehmen, wenn sie singen, rauchen sie nicht. Bei mir brennts nicht. Was ich verspreche, wird gehalten. Und Franz denkt nach, indem er sich die Nase wischt, das tropft, wenn man ins Warme kommt, ziehen hilft nicht, er denkt, wo Lina bleibt, und soll ich mir noch ein Paar Würstchen genehmigen, ich nehme aber zu sehr zu, was soll man denen denn vorsingen, die verstehen ja doch nichts vom Leben, aber versprochen ist versprochen. Und plötzlich irrt durch seinen Kopf ein Satz, eine Zeile, das ist ein Gedicht, das hat er im Gefängnis gelernt, die haben es öfter aufgesagt, es lief durch alle Zellen. Er ist gebannt im Augenblick, sein Kopf ist von der Hitze warm und rot und hat sich gesenkt, er ist ernst und gedankenvoll. Er sagt, die Hand am Seidel: "Ein Gedicht wees ich, aus dem Gefängnis, ist von einem Sträfling, der heiss, wart mal, wie der hiess, das war Dohms." Das war er. Ist schon raus, ist aber ein schönes Gedicht. Und er sitzt allein am Tisch, Henschke hinter seinem Spülbecken und die andern hören zu, es kommt keiner rein, der Kanonenofen kracht. Franz, den Kopf aufgestemmt, sagt ein Gedicht auf, das Dohms gemacht hat, und die Zelle ist da, der Spazierhof, er kann sie ruhig ertragen, was mögen jetzt für Jungens drinstecken; er geht jetzt selbst auf dem Spazierhof, das ist mehr als die hier können, was wissen die vom Leben.⁴⁷

This passage, which is immediately followed by the poem quoted above, given in direct speech, reveals an almost bewildering shift in linguistic levels and perspectives. The narrator, for example, is represented by three different levels: the matter-of-fact, straightforward reporter (as in the opening sentence), the colloquial tone of the more directly experiencing participant ("richtig ruft der schon rüber", "es kommt keiner rein") and the more elevated, lyrical style of perspectivised narration ("Er ist gebannt im Augenblick"). Biberkopf's voice, on the other hand, appears in four forms: direct speech, indirect speech, free indirect style and inner monologue. None of these levels is allowed to assert itself over and above the others and at one point two levels are even fused within the context of the single sentence ("ziehen hilft nicht, er denkt, wo Lina

bleibt, und soll ich mir noch ein Paar Würstchen genehmigen"). For this intentional blurring of narrative focus Martini has devised the term "Stil der parallelen Simultanität",⁴⁸ but although the complexity of this example clearly surpasses anything that Holz achieved, we can nevertheless recognise the underlying principle as the technique of "multiple" or "shifting perspective" that was identified as a main characteristic of Holz's subjectivist prose-style.

The authority of the narrator, however, is by no means always diminished in this way in Berlin Alexanderplatz, for this reticent presence is complemented elsewhere by the traditional status of omniscience; or, to use Döblin's own categories once again, by the position of the narrator as philosopher. Döblin sees this not as a contradiction but as an essential authorial attribute: "Darf der Autor im epischen Werk mitsprechen, darf er in diese Welt hineinspringen? Antwort: Ja, er darf, er soll und muss."⁴⁹ This omniscience is reflected in the conventional manner: by supplying information which the chance observer could not possibly know, by explaining or recapitulating situations that have already been described and by doing so in a tone that invites familiarity with the reader or the characters ("Da steht unser Franz Biberkopf anders da.")⁵⁰ In addition, however, there is one particular device that more than any other attests to the position of omniscience, namely, Döblin's use of chapter headings and content-summaries. The novel opens, in fact, with a preface which not only prepares the reader for what is to take place but also points towards a possible interpretation of Biberkopf's fate:

Das furchtbare Ding, das sein Leben war, bekommt einen Sinn. Es ist eine Gewaltkur mit Franz Biberkopf vollzogen. . . Dies zu betrachten und zu hören wird sich für viele lohnen, die wie Franz Biberkopf in einer Menschenhaut wohnen und denen es passiert wie diesem Franz Biberkopf, nämlich vom Leben mehr zu verlangen als das Butterbrot.⁵¹

Similarly, the individual books are prefaced by a short prologue summarising the action and each book is subdivided into sections with interpretative headings.⁵² In this guise, therefore, the narrator appears as a didactic figure, concerned to explain to the reader the significance of the story he presents. His moralising tone is particularly prominent towards the end of the novel, since not only does he decide at what point the story should end but he also points to its moral: "Da werde ich nicht mehr schreien wie früher: das Schicksal, das Schicksal. Das muss man nicht als Schicksal verehren, man muss es ansehen, anfassen und zerstören."⁵³

It is important to emphasise the contrast between the two sides of the narrator in Berlin Alexanderplatz for, when assessing his role as a whole in the novel, critics have tended to take into account only one of his functions. Thus, whereas Martini and Muschg⁵⁴ still accord him the authority of the traditional narrator, Albrecht Schöne ascribes a quite different status to him:

Der Erzähler ist eine Figur, die allein durch ihr Erzählen sich aufbaut, kraft ihrer Sprache persönliche Kontur gewinnt. Wenn man daraufhin ihn beobachtet, so zeigt sich doch, dass er vor dem Gegenstande seines Erzählens, vor der herandrängenden Fülle von Figuren und Geschehnissen eine Abschweifungsbereitschaft erweist, in der nicht mehr die Souveränität des alten Epikers, sondern Nachgiebigkeit und Schwäche sich äussern. So zeigt sich, dass er auch auf die Sprache des Kollektivwesens Grossstadt in einer Weise sich einlässt, die seinen Eigencharakter, seine Überlegenheit sehr in Frage stellt.⁵⁵

In my opinion, however, Volker Klotz proposes the most satisfactory definition when he speaks of "the dual role" of the narrator, since this conception seeks not to ignore but to express his dichotomous nature. Moreover, as I attempted to indicate in the discussion of narrative perspective in Holz's work, this dual role of omniscient moralist or "souveräner Veranstalter", on the one hand, and self-effacing recorder or "situation=snaher Vermittler",⁵⁶ on the other, is not dissimilar to that played by

the narrator in "Papa Hamlet".

At the end of "Der Bau des epischen Werks" Döblin summarises the argument he has presented in the essay:

Was macht das epische Werk aus? Das Vermögen seines Herstellers, dicht an die Realität zu dringen und sie zu durchstossen, um zu gelangen zu den einfachen grossen elementaren Grundsituationen und Figuren des menschlichen Daseins. Hinzu kommt, um das lebende Wortkunstwerk zu machen, die springende Fabulierkunst des Autors. Und drittens ergiesst sich alles im Strom der lebenden Sprache, der der Autor folgt."⁵⁷

In my analysis of Berlin Alexanderplatz I have tried to show that the translation of this prescription into literary form produces a style which, in many significant aspects, is close to that of consequential Naturalism. One of several terms Martini devises to define the style of the novel is "expressiver Naturalismus".⁵⁸ Essentially, however, Martini intends this to denote a contrast to the style of consequential Naturalism, whereas my analysis wishes to show that, on the contrary, Döblin in fact developed and intensified (and added to) certain effects inherent in the two modes of Holz's prose.

This relationship between "Papa Hamlet" and Berlin Alexanderplatz and, more generally, between Holz and Döblin is, I believe, of great importance in that it helps us to locate the achievement of Holz's prose-work historically. For the tendency is to stress Holz's scientific fascination with empiricism and thus view his writing solely in terms of representing the culmination of realism in its traditional form; whereas the affinities between his work and Berlin Alexanderplatz, which is commonly regarded as historically marking a radical literary departure, show that Holz stands at the same time at the beginning of another tradition. Indeed, Döblin himself was fully aware that it was the initiation of this break with tradition that constituted Holz's major achievement:

"seine Rolle war, ist und wird sein: in Deutschland den Bruch mit einer faulen und unechten Überlieferung einzuleiten und vollziehen zu helfen."⁵⁹

CHAPTER 3

PHANTASUS

(i) THE REVOLUTIONISATION OF POETIC FORM

Although, after the publication of Neue Gleise in 1892, Holz was also responsible for the authorship or co-authorship of several dramas, the genre which increasingly dominated the last thirty years of his creative writing was that of poetry, as represented by the various volumes which appeared during that time under the title of Phantasmus. Indeed, thematically at least, Holz's concern with the idea of "Phantasmus" can be said to span almost his entire literary output for, as noted earlier, Buch der Zeit too contains a cycle of poems bearing that name. However, the three most significant developments of the "Phantasmus" poetry to appear during Holz's life-time were, respectively, the two small volumes published by Sassenbach in 1898/99, the enormous Insel edition of 1916 and the three volumes published as part of Holz's collected work by Dietz in 1924/25. These have been supplemented by the recent Luchterhand edition of Holz's work¹ which contains three further volumes from Holz's "Nachlass" and which, it has been assumed, represents Holz's Phantasmus in its definitive form.² Each succeeding version marked not only a quantitative but also a qualitative development of the previous one, for as well as adding to the number of poems already composed Holz was constantly involved in a meticulous process of revision and elaboration of his existing material. Just how painstaking that revision became at times is evidenced by the fact that even such an apparently simple line as "Plitsch!-? Ein Frosch" in the 1916 version was altered in the "Nachlass" edition of the poem "Verglastende Dämmerung" to read "Plitzsch . .?! Ein. . .Frosch."³ However, while I do not wish to present Phantasmus as an undifferentiated whole, a detailed discussion of the exact genesis and chronological development of the work clearly

lies beyond the scope of this dissertation.⁴ Moreover, since my ultimate purpose in this chapter is to evaluate the significance for the twentieth century of Holz's development of poetic form, I will draw mainly on the later versions for examples as, in my opinion, these illustrate most clearly the manner and extent of that development.

As was the case with his prose-works Holz's creative writing was accompanied by a number of theoretical excursions into the nature of poetry which have been brought together in Vol.10 of Das Werk under the title "Evolution der Lyrik". Although much of these writings is consumed by some rather trivial polemics against certain critics of the earliest version of Phantasus, they nevertheless indicate the premises and principles of construction on which the creative writing was based and so provide a convenient starting-point for analysis. Moreover, as at least one contemporary critic regards Phantasus (and not, that is to say, the prose-works) as the true realisation of Holz's theory of art,⁵ it is also necessary to reconsider briefly some of Holz's earlier propositions in the light of his subsequent poetic writing.

In his assessment of Holz's contribution to aesthetics, Emrich defines the underlying aim of Holz's theorising as the desire to discover not only the essence of art but also those factors which prevent the practical realisation of that essence. These, Emrich suggests, are to be found for Holz, on the one hand, in the artist's inherent subjectivity and on the other, in the external limitations imposed on the writer by his chosen medium, namely, conventional language.⁶ Leaving the idea of artistic subjectivity aside for the moment, I would argue that the real problem Holz was attempting to confront was not simply that of language but rather the much wider question of the artist's relationship to form

as such. Significantly, Holz emphasises at one point in his reflections on poetic form: "Gerade die permanente Kongruenz dieser beiden (i.e. form and content, R.A.B.) ist aber der Kern dessen, was ich predige!"⁷ Above all Holz was aware that one particular disjunction between form and content could place the artist in the position of the epigone, a fate which, after the experience of Buch der Zeit, he was intent on avoiding. Reviewing this earlier work Holz writes self-critically that "Epigonentum beginnt für mich erst dort, wo Stillstand eintritt. Mein Buch der Zeit. . . war bereits Stillstand."⁸ Indeed, he re-asserts this idea elsewhere when he argues that poetry must from now on eschew traditional artistic means, not simply because they are traditional but because in the main they have ceased to be what he terms "Entwicklungswerte".⁹ This idea of development, that is to say, the process of change but within a framework of continuity, was crucial to Holz, so much so, in fact, that he altered the title of his script of 1899 from "Revolution der Lyrik" to "Evolution der Lyrik" in order to emphasise that he was concerned not so much to make a radical break with tradition as to develop usefully what was rooted in it. Moreover, in his insistence that poetry must adapt to a changed situation by developing its own form, it is clear that Holz was articulating not simply his own problems as a poet but rather what he felt to be those of his generation, "einer Jahrhunderte langen Epigonenzeit."¹⁰

The danger of "Epigonentum" for Holz derived principally from the writer's attitude to form, and of central importance to his own aesthetics was the view that: "Man revolutioniert eine Kunst also nur, indem man ihre Mittel revolutioniert."¹¹ Holz, then, not only rejected the uncritical acceptance and appropriation of traditional forms but in effect

was alluding to the historical specificity of literary form:

Alle bisherigen Formen der Wortkunst, gleichgültig welcher Zeit, gleichgültig welchen Volks, ohne Ausnahme, beruhten auf Willkür. Diese Willkür, als solche erkannt, hatte ihre geschichtliche Rolle im Entwicklungssinne damit ausgespielt und ergab zwingend den Begriff und die Forderung: Notwendigkeit! . . Jeder Wortkünstler bisher fand zwischen sich und dem, was er ausdrücken wollte, bereits immer etwas vor. . . In eine ihm überlieferte Form presste er willkürlich seinen Inhalt, statt umgekehrt, wie ich dieses verlange, die erst gesuchte, noch gar nicht vorhandene Form aus seinem Inhalt unwillkürlich, dafür aber um so notwendiger erst wachsen zu lassen.¹²

This somewhat abstract dichotomy - "Form-Willkür" and "Form-Notwendigkeit"¹³

- Holz then attempts to concretise through various examples:

Lese ich z.B. bei Heine: "Glücklich der Mann, der den Hafen erreicht hat und hinter sich liess das Meer und die Stürme", so habe ich die Empfindung, als ob die Steine auf diesem Knüppeldamm auch anders liegen könnten. Der Rhythmus ist hier bei Licht besehen nichts weiter als ein Konglomerat von metrischen Reminiszenzen. Er hat mit der Sache, die er eigentlich ausdrücken sollte, nichts zu tun. Seine ausschliessliche Sorge, der alles übrige sich unterordnen muss, ist, dass er "klingt". . . der heimliche Leierkasten. Dass er gerade deswegen nicht mehr klingt, sondern nur noch eine Art sich fortwälzendes übeles Geräusch verursacht, das als "Musik" eigentlich nur noch für Jahrmärkte passt. . . , ist von einer Komik, die es heute, nachträglich, zwar gratis gibt, die aber darum doch für die Kernfrage hier natürlich nicht in Betracht kommt. Die Beispiele, die Mehring anführt, "Bedecke deinen Himmel, Zeus, mit Wolkendunst", das Heinesche "Friede": "Hoch am Himmel stand die Sonne". . . , sind zwar nicht ganz so schlimm, aber ihre Struktur ist die gleiche. Trifft der Rhythmus in ihnen an einigen Stellen mit dem Inhalt zusammen, so ist dies nicht Absicht, sondern Zufall. Letzte formale Absicht. . . bleibt stets das Tetterettetätä. Ihm zuliebe mauschellierte Goethe unsere arme Sprache, indem er statt unter der Sonne "unter der Sonn" schrieb, und Heine genierte sich nicht das gleiche zu tun, indem er das schöne Imperfektum 'wandelte er' in 'wandelt' er' korrumpierte, wodurch es für unser Ohr selbstverständlich zum Präsens wird. Und von solchen Ungeheuerlichkeiten wimmelt es nur so, wimmelt die ganze gepriesene Technik unserer 'Klassik!'¹⁴

The arbitrary nature of poetic form would thus appear to be represented for Holz by all those elements normally associated with traditional poetics: metre, assonance, alliteration, versification and, above all, rhyme. Such things, says Holz, merely conspire in their artificiality against the poetic word, whereas what he seeks is its direct expression. That is

to say, he aims to reveal and develop what he calls its "innerste Immanenz"¹⁵ by restoring to words their "natürlichen" or "ursprünglichen Werte".¹⁶ Holz's proposed rejuvenation of poetry can thus be seen to be located at one level in a return to a natural simplicity of expression: "letzte Einfachheit (ist) das höchste Gesetz, . . . möglichste Natürlichkeit die intensivste Kunstform".¹⁷ At a theoretical level, however, possibly what he was attempting to do with his concept of "immanence" - although, characteristically, Holz does not spell it out - was to define the specificity of the work of art. At any rate, as far as poetry is concerned, it is clear that what Holz considers immanent to lyric poetry is rhythm: "Ich würde also für eine Lyrik ohne Sprache plädiert haben, wenn ich für eine Lyrik ohne Rhythmen plädiert hätte! . . . Du greifst ihn, wenn du die Dinge greifst. Er ist allen immanent."¹⁸ According to Holz everything has its own rhythm and the task of poetry is to express those inner rhythms through language.¹⁹ Rhythm is thus the only valid form since it changes according to what is expressed - "Dieser Rhythmus wächst, als wäre vor ihm irgend etwas anderes noch nie geschrieben worden, jedesmal neu aus dem Inhalt"²⁰ - hence Holz calls it "notwendigen Rhythmus."

Holz tries to clarify what he means by necessary rhythm by making two particular distinctions. Firstly, he rejects the equation of "necessary" with "free" rhythms since free rhythms, he argues, are not necessarily "natural" ones.²¹ He dismisses Goethe's free rhythms, for example, since "sie mögen. . . von allem frei sein, von dem man wünscht, dass sie's sein sollen; nur nicht von jenem falschen Pathos, das die Worte um ihre ursprünglichen Werte bringt."²² Furthermore, it is precisely the existence of this necessary rhythm, Holz claims, that distinguishes poetry from prose:

Ich schreibe als Prosaiker einen ausgezeichneten Satz nieder, wenn ich schreibe: "Der Mond steigt hinter blühenden Apfelbaumzweigen auf." Aber ich würde über ihn stolpern, wenn man ihn mir für den Anfang eines Gedichts ausgäbe. Er wird zu einem solchen erst, wenn ich ihn forme: "Hinter blühenden Apfelbaumzweigen steigt der Mond auf." Der erste Satz referiert nur, der zweite stellt dar. Erst jetzt, fühle ich, ist der Klang eins mit dem Inhalt. Und um diese Einheit bereits deutlich auch nach aussen zu geben, schreibe ich:

"Hinter blühenden Apfelbaumzweigen

steigt
der Mond auf."²³

Certainly, there is much in this statement - and in the cited examples - which is problematical and I shall discuss later the validity of the distinction Holz proposes. For the moment, however, it is only necessary to note the primacy for Holz of the rhythmic component of poetry and the fact that it is this which, Holz claims, distinguishes his new conception of poetic form from previous models. Holz thus defines his own model as follows: "eine Lyrik, die auf jede Musik durch Worte als Selbstzweck verzichtet und die, rein formal, lediglich durch einen Rhythmus getragen wird, der nur noch durch das lebt, was durch ihn zum Ausdruck ringt."²⁴

If we now relate Holz's particular prescription for poetic form to his more general definition of art ("K = N - X": "Die Kunst hat die Tendenz, die Natur zu sein. Sie wird sie nach Massgabe ihrer Mittel und deren Handhabung"), it is clear that the importance of rhythm for Holz lies in the fact that potentially it enables the artist to reduce one of the "x" factors (namely, the handling of the artistic means) to the process of divesting language of the weight of conventional usage in order to reveal its intrinsic significance, or what Holz calls, alternately, its "natürlichen", "notwendigen" or "ursprünglichen Werte".

This reference to the nature of language, however, reminds us of what, at least in the view of Emrich, quoted earlier, constituted for Holz the major cause of literary "Epigonentum", namely, the inherent

limitations of language. Indeed, in one sense this is implicit in Holz's law of art itself since it defines the "x" factor not only as the deployment of the artistic means but also as the artistic means themselves. As language undoubtedly constitutes the primary artistic means of literature,²⁵ it is thus possible to interpret Holz's "Kunstgesetz" as implying that language will always, to a greater or lesser extent, represent an impediment or a minus-factor in the process of literary production. Various critics have pointed out that Holz was by no means alone at this time in his feeling of what is now commonly known as "Sprachskepsis".²⁶ Moreover, as Ingrid Strohschneider-Kohrs observes, it was an experience that remained with Holz from the completion of Buch der Zeit onwards.²⁷ Looking back on his collaboration with Johannes Schlaf, for example, Holz himself expressed quite vividly to what extent the process of literary creation had become for him a question of wrestling with language:

Bei jedem Satz, den ich niederschrieb, gähnten um mich Abgründe, jede Wendung, die ich aus mir riss, schien mir ein Ungeheuer, jedes Wort hatte die Niedertracht, in hundert Bedeutungen zu schillern, jede Silbe gab mir Probleme auf.²⁸

Moreover, in view of the almost fanatical linguistic revision to which Holz subjected the various versions of his Phantasmus, there seems little reason to believe that these doubts in the efficacy and immediacy of language ever totally abated, even though they perhaps never again assumed the extreme form of the creative crisis that Holz experienced after the publication of Buch der Zeit.

As regards the relevance of these thoughts to poetry, Holz gives perhaps the most concrete example of what he means when discussing rhyme, for it is clear that underlying his analysis there is something much more important than simply the rejection of one particular poetic device:

Wozu noch der Reim? Der erste, der-vor Jahrhunderten! - auf Sonne

Wonne reimte, auf Herz Schmerz und auf Brust Lust, war ein Genie; der tausendste, . . .ein Kretin. Brauche ich den selben Reim, den vor mir schon ein anderer gebraucht hat, so streife ich in neun Fällen von zehn den selben Gedanken. Oder, um dies bescheidener auszudrücken, doch wenigstens einen ähnlichen. Und man soll mir die Reime nennen, die in unserer Sprache noch nicht gebraucht sind! Gerade die unentbehrlichsten sind es in einer Weise, dass die Bezeichnung "abgegriffen" auf sie wie auf die kostbarsten Seltenheiten klänge. Es gehört wirklich kaum "Übung" dazu: hört man heute ein erstes Reimwort, so weiss man in den weitaus meisten Fällen mit tödlicher Sicherheit auch bereits das zweite. Wir vom Publikum haben dann schon immer antizipiert, womit. . .der "Tichter" nun erst hinterdreinhinkt. . .So arm ist unsere Sprache an gleichauslautenden Worten, so wenig liegt dies "Mittel" in ihr ursprünglich, dass man sicher nicht allzu sehr übertreibt, wenn man blind behauptet, fünfundsiebzig Prozent ihrer sämtlichen Vokabeln waren für diese Technik von vorneherein unverwendbar, existierten für sie gar nicht. Ist mir aber ein Ausdruck verwehrt, so ist es mir in der Kunst gleichzeitig mit ihm auch sein reales Äquivalent. Kann es also wundern, dass uns heute der gesamte Horizont unserer Lyrik um folgegerecht fünfundsiebzig Prozent enger erscheint als der unserer Wirklichkeit? Die alte Form nagelt die Welt an einer bestimmten Stelle mit Brettern zu, die neue reisst den Zaun nieder und zeigt, dass die Welt auch noch hinter diese Bretter reicht.²⁹ (my italics)

What concerns Holz here basically, therefore, is the relationship between language and reality. For if it is true that, as Schulz puts it, Holz had perceived the changed relationship of men to themselves and to their reality and thus saw the task of art as being to convey the changed nature of that relationship,³⁰ it is equally true that he was also aware of the paradox that language was at once both the means with which to attain that aim and at the same time the greatest barrier to its achievement. An awareness of the key role of language was thus the precondition for any attempt to transform the nature of literature: "Eine Erneuerung unserer Literatur. . .kann nur erfolgen aus einer Erneuerung ihres Sprachbluts. Sie bleibt ohne eine solche. . .Utopie."³¹ In what way Holz sought concretely to effect the renewal of literary language will hopefully emerge from an analysis of Phantasmus itself. But for the moment I would like to return briefly to the other "minus-factor" that Emrich

identifies in Holz's equation, namely, the question of the subjectivity of the artist, since this illuminates not only the form but also, to a certain extent, the basic theme of the "Phantasmus" poetry.

In a previous chapter I pointed to the divergent interpretations of Holz's "Kunstgesetz" and to the implications of that divergence for an analysis of consequential Naturalism. With regard to Phantasmus, however, I would argue that a similar divergence is untenable and the main evidence for this assertion is a document that Holz appended to his script of 1899, "Revolution der Lyrik", in which he reconsidered the law he had formulated in 1891. Although it adds nothing new to our understanding of the "Kunstgesetz" as such, it does, I think, define quite clearly the relationship between Holz's own then understanding of his law and the literary work on which he had just embarked. That is to say, the ambiguity which surrounds the relationship between subject and object in Holz's prose-work is not apparent in the "Phantasmus" poetry, which admits of only a subjectivist interpretation. In the appended article Holz's main aim was to refute the accusation that what he was, in effect, advocating in Die Kunst. Ihr Wesen und ihre Gesetze was the total elimination of the subjective individuality of the artist and, significantly, it is in this later reassessment of 1899 that he reformulates his law in the way I referred to earlier, so as to omit the offending words "Reproduktionsbedingungen" and "wieder".³² This then prompts him to assert quite explicitly the relativity of all art:

Alle bisherigen Sätze liefen darauf hinaus, die Kunst ist ein Absolutum; dieser Satz, zum ersten Mal von einer anderen Weltanschauung her, behauptet, sie ist ein Relativum. Er sagt: es gibt für uns Menschen keine Kunst an sich, wie es für uns Menschen keine Natur an sich gibt. Es existieren genau so viele Kunst=auffassungen, als entsprechende Naturauffassungen existieren. Zwei sich völlig deckende sind unmöglich.³³

Moreover, as regards the process of artistic representation, Holz remarks:

"Als ob schon je ein Mensch irgendein Ding selbst reproduziert hätte und nicht bloss immer sein betreffendes Vorstellungsbild!"³⁴ This dissolution of the boundary between subject and object leads to the conclusion that, for Holz, the artistic representation of reality can only ever be understood as the specific mediation of the perceiving subject, what Emrich calls the "Selbstpreisgabe des Subjekts an den Gegenstand seiner Gestaltung."³⁵ Although, in my opinion, he falls into the trap of appearing to conflate Holz's various theoretical pronouncements into one historical moment, I would argue, nevertheless, that Hans-Georg Rappl's interpretation of Holz's theory defines precisely the position which he had adopted by the time he began work on his "Phantasmus" project and for this reason I quote at length Rappl's summary of his own analysis:

Es wurde gezeigt, dass der Natur als erfassbarem Gegenstand keine ausserhalb der Subjektivität bestehende Existenz zukommt und ihr Sein an sich niemals zum Gegenstand einer Aussage gemacht werden kann. Die Existenz ihrer verfügbaren Gegebenheit erklärte sich allein aus dem Subjekt, dessen Empfindungen den Inhalt und dessen Kategorien die Formen der Natur ausmachten. In diesem Rückgang auf das Subjekt stellt sich sein Gegenstand, die Natur, als Inbegriff der inhaltlichen und formalen Immanenz des Subjekts dar, so dass die Darstellung von Natur identisch wird mit der Darstellung dieser Immanenz selbst. Das Subjekt ist in seinen Akten, die Natur erfassen und darstellen, notwendig auf sich selbst gerichtet und erschöpft sich in der Betrachtung seiner Zustände, durch deren Ausdruck Natur gestaltet wird. Dieser Bezogenheit des Subjekts auf sich selbst entspricht konsequent die Gleichsetzung von Natur und Immanenz des Subjekts. Im Satz der Theorie: "alle Kunst ist im letzten Grunde Selbstdarstellung" hat dieser Sachverhalt seinen endgültigen Ausdruck gefunden. Natur und Selbst sind damit der Theorie identischer Gegenstand des künstlerischen Aktes.³⁶

Moreover, it is precisely because, in his view, Phantasmus constitutes the best literary representation of the subject/object relationship explicated in the theory that Rappl, like Emrich ("in seinem. . ."Phantasmus" hat Arno Holz die letzte künstlerische Konsequenz aus seiner Dichtungstheorie gezogen"),³⁷ considers Holz's later poetic work to be the true realisation of his aesthetic theory.

Certainly, Holz embodies in his own conception of the work the two poles of this relationship when he states that his intention in Phantasmus was to present the "Gestaltung eines Weltbildes",³⁸ on the one hand, and the "Autobiographie einer Seele",³⁹ on the other. Expressed in terms of the subject/object relationship this can only be understood to mean, therefore, that the "Ich" is the subject, the "Welt" the object, in the sense of everything that confronts the "Ich", and the "Gestaltung" represents the projection of the "Welt" through the perceiving "Ich". Demler expresses it as follows:

Um der Welt habhaft zu werden, muss ich sie also durch den Erlebnisakt in Besitz nehmen. . . Zur Kunst als Mittel der Weltverbesserung tritt so die Kunst als eine Form der Welterfassung; als Mittel einer scheinbaren Auflösung des Ich ins All, die aber in Wahrheit eine Einbeziehung des Alls in das Ich bedeutet.⁴⁰

Holz, too, defines the relationship between "Weltbild" and "Ich" when explaining why Phantasmus assumed the particular form that it did:

Ein "Weltbild" heute noch in den Rahmen irgend einer "Fabel" oder "Handlung" spannen zu wollen, hätte mir kindlichstes Vermessen geschienen! Was zu einem Weltbild heute "gehört", ist in seinen einzelnen Bestandteilen zu weit auseinanderliegend, in seinen Elementen zu buntwimmelnd kaleidoskopisch, als dass auch die komplizierteste, raffinierteste "Legende" imstande wäre, für einen solchen "Inhalt" den dazu nötigen Untergrund zu schaffen! Ich gestalte und forme die "Welt", sagte ich mir, wenn es mir gelingt, den Abglanz zu spiegeln, den sie mir in die "Seele" geworfen! Und je reicher, je mannigfaltiger je vielfarbiger ich das tue, um so treuer, um so tiefer, um so machtvoller wird mein Werk!⁴¹

This view of Phantasmus - fully consistent with the claim he makes elsewhere that "Wortlyrik ist sprachliche Wiedergabe von Empfindungen"⁴² - defines quite clearly the subjectivist nature of the "Weltbild" presented in this work. More problematical, however, is the identity of the "Ich" who confronts that reality, for Holz's statement, quoted above, to the effect that "alle Kunst ist im Grunde Selbstdarstellung",⁴³ might lead one to identify the autobiography in question with that of Holz himself. That

some of the experiences described in the course of the work - the basic situation of the poet in his garret, for example - were also Holz's own, is of course undeniable but, as a letter he wrote in 1900 makes quite explicit, the "Seele" we encounter in Phantasmus is meant only in the very broadest and mystical of senses to be equated with the historical figure of Arno Holz:

Das letzte "Geheimnis" der von mir in ihrem untersten Fundament bereits angedeuteten Phantasuskomposition besteht im wesentlichen darin, dass ich mich unaufhörlich in die heterogensten Dinge und Gestalten zerlege. Wie ich vor meiner Geburt die ganze physische Entwicklung meiner Spezies durchgemacht habe, wenigstens in ihren Hauptstadien, so seit meiner Geburt ihre psychische. Ich war "alles", und die Relikte davon liegen ebenso zahlreich wie kunterbunt in mir aufgespeichert. Ein Zufall, und ich bin nicht Arno Holz, "der formale Erneuerer der modernen deutschen Poesie", dessen missglückte Zinkotypie der letzte Literaturkalender brachte, sondern ein beliebiges Etwas aus jenem Komplex. Das mag meinerwegen wunderbar ausgedrückt sein, aber was dahintersteckt, wird mir ermöglichen, aus tausend Einzelorganismen nach und nach einen riesigen Gesamtorg=44anismus zu bilden, der lebendig aus ein und der selben Wurzel wächst.

This description points, moreover, to one of the main themes of the work, what Jost Hermand terms its "lyrischen Darwinismus",⁴⁵ namely, the idea of metamorphosis and reincarnation contained in the very first poem of the cycle:

Sieben Billionen ... Jahre ... vor meiner Geburt
war ich
eine Schwertlilie.

Meine suchenden Wurzeln
saugten
sich
um einen Stern. 46

As Schickling observes,⁴⁷ in the ensuing poetic voyage through history and pre-history not only historical but also ontological identity is dissolved as the division between the realm of the human and that of the non-human is suspended. And yet, as Holz himself insists, it is the artist, man's apotheosis, who is the real focus of the work, since he alone

embodies the experiential extremes of which man is capable:

als Grundstruktur die in dankbar weitestem Ausmasse abgesteckte "Autobiographie einer Seele"! Des "Schaffenden", des "Dichtenden", des "Künstlers", der, wie namentlich aus dem grossen, resümierenden Schlussstück hervorgeht, als der letzte, gesteigertste Menschheitstyp hingestellt wird, durch den, in irgend einer "Beziehung", in irgend einem "Betracht", mit gleicher Intensität, "alles" geht: Alle Qual, alle Angst, alle Not, alle Klage, alle Plage, alle Wonnen, alle Verzücktheiten, alle Jubel, alle Beglücktheiten, alle Seligkeiten, alle Ekstasen, alle Entrücktheiten! Nicht nur seine eigenen, sondern die der ganzen Menschheit. In allen Formen, unter allen "Verkleidungen", durch alle Zonen, aus allen Zeiten!⁴⁸

The identity of the "Ich" is thus clear: it is the human individual as such, in all his historical generality, but encompassed at the immediate and specific level within the figure of the artist, Arno Holz.⁴⁹ Phantasmus can be quite properly described, therefore, as "eine Art'Lied der Menschheit', wie sie sich in ihrem einzelnen Individuum spiegelt."⁵⁰

However, despite all the subsequent and extensive development of the work, it is true to say that its underlying theme always remains basically the same (and in addition to the fact that we are primarily concerned here with an examination of form, this is another reason why a detailed content-analysis of Phantasmus is not essential.) This rests - as, indeed, it did in the very first "Phantasmus" cycle in Buch der Zeit - on the antithesis between dream and reality, on the tension between the grim material world of the poet's existence in his urban garret and his transcendence of and escape from that reality in the world of his dreams and imagination. That is to say, the expansion of Phantasmus during the thirty years that Holz worked on it, was not primarily a thematic or ideational one but a formal one. Indeed, in many ways the real subject of Phantasmus is language itself, for the more static the work's thematic development became, the greater was Holz's compensation in the form of a previously unparalleled wealth of formal and linguistic innovation. Indeed, Holz himself virtually said as much when he wrote of his first version:

Ich setzte über diese beabsichtigte Reihe meinen alten Titel "Phantasmus", weil es mich drängt, eine Idee, die ich als junger Mensch nur unvollkommen habe ausdrücken können und mit Mitteln, die nicht mir selbst gehörten, heute unvollkommener auszudrücken und mit Mitteln, die ich nicht mehr meinen Vorgängern verdanke. 51

As stated earlier, what Holz turned against in particular was the traditional form of metre and in this he could justifiably claim to be the first modern poet to do so. "Die letzte "Einheit" der bisherigen Metrik" he wrote "war der Versfuss. Die letzte Einheit meiner "Rhythmik" ist eine ungleich differenziertere: die Zeile."⁵² Moreover, he added, the flexibility of this basic unit was such that it would vary in length from anything from one to over fifty syllables. In his study of rhythm in modern poetry, Hartwig Schultz demonstrates with the following sentence from Phantasmus the precise effect of Holz's rejection of conventional metre:⁵³ "Wie leer, wie öd, wie grämlich grau, wie traurig trüb, wie elend trostlos gestern noch lag mir die Welt." This sentence can be constructed, without making any alterations, to form either a verse in free rhythm or even a more conventional verse with lines of four stresses, for, as Schultz points out, the basic rhythm of the sentence consists of an almost regular alternation of rising and falling stress. It could then be written as below, producing the following metre pattern:

Wie leer, wie öd, wie grämlich grau	x	ǎ x	ǎ x	ǎ x	ǎ ^
Wie traurig trüb, wie elend trostlos	x	ǎ x	ǎ x	ǎ x	ǎ x
Gestern noch lag mir die Welt.	ǎ	u u	ǎ u u	ǎ ^ ^ ^	

In fact, however, the rhythms which Holz achieves in his Phantasmus setting of these lines is totally different, since, if each line-ending is taken as signifying a pause or slight pause - what Donald Davie has called "typographic breathing spaces"⁵⁴ - the sentence is patterned as follows:

Wie	≤
leer, wie öd	ǎ x ≤
wie	≤

grämlich	ǎ u ^
grau	≤
wie traurig trüb, wie	x ǎ x ≤ ≤
elend trostlos,	ǎ x ǎ u ^
gestern	ǎ u ^
noch	≤
lag mir ... die Welt!	ǎ x ^ x ǎ ^

Schultz concludes his analysis of these lines with the comment that "Holz erzeugt durch die Gliederung des Wortmaterials in verschieden lange, durch kurze Pausen begrenzte Abschnitte einen äusserst spannungsreichen Rhythmus, der keinen permanenten Wechsel von Hebung und Senkung kennt."⁵⁵

The above example also illustrates the basic poetic structuring principle that Holz deployed in all the versions of his Phantasus, namely, the so-called "Mittelachse", the grouping of words or lines round a central axis. Crucial though this was to Holz's formal concept, at the time many critics were reticent in according it any innovatory significance, seeing it rather as a somewhat superfluous importation from the Baroque. Turley, however, attempts to distinguish it from that period - in terms of which Holz would have undoubtedly approved - when he argues:

Im Barock war, wenn die Form überhaupt einmal gewählt wurde, zuerst die Figur da (z.B. Szepter-Kelch-oder Harzform), auf die der Inhalt geformt wurde. Bei Holz ist das Primäre der Inhalt, aus dem sich dann die Form ergibt, die ausserdem eine Figur im Sinne des carmen figuratum gar nicht vorstellt.⁵⁶

Views as to the exact purpose and effect of the "Mittelachse" vary, however, as perhaps can be best demonstrated by considering one of Holz's poems in its entirety:

Schönes, grünes, weiches
Gras.

Drin
liege ich.

Inmitten goldgelber Butterblumen!

Über mir,
warm,
der Himmel:

Ein
weites, schütteres,
lichtwühlig, lichtwogig,
lichtblendig
zitterndes Weiss,
das mir die Augen langsam, ganz langsam
schliesst.

Wehende ... Luft, kaum ... merklich ein Duft,
ein
zartes ... Summen

Nun
bin ich fern
von jeder Welt,
ein sanftes Rot erfüllt mich ganz,
und
deutlich ... spüre ich ... wie die Sonne
mir
durchs Blut rinnt.

Minutenlang.

Versunken alles. Nur noch ich.

Selig!

57

According to Käthe Lichtenstern, the primary effect of the "Mittelachse" presentation is a cognitive one in that it reinforces what she calls the poem's "Tempoplastik",⁵⁸ which in turn heightens the suggestive power of

the words. Thus the isolation of "schliesst", for example, encapsulated as it is by pause and so retarding the rhythmic tempo of the previous lines, connotes, Lichtenstern suggests, the poet's final surrender to blissful relaxation in the mid-day warmth.⁵⁹ In contrast, the extending of the following lines with pause-insertions reduces the tempo even further to suggest the blurring of sensations that accompanies the approach of sleep. Moreover, the isolating process which is so integral a part of the "Mittelachse" structure can work in two different ways, either emphasising the significant, as in the case of the final jubilant "Selig!", or, by inviting the eye to pass over subsidiary elements such as "und", "mir", "ein", etc., deflecting attention from the insignificant. These subtleties would be missed, Lichtenstern argues, were traditional verse and metre patterns adopted.

Clearly, however, the "Mittelachse" formation has effects other than simply aiding comprehension, important though this undoubtedly is for the enormous sentences of the later versions of Phantasmus. Holz wrote that he chose this particular form with the intention of "die jeweilig beabsichtigten Lautbilder möglichst auch schon typographisch zuzudeuten"⁶⁰ and goes on to emphasise its distinct visual value:

Warum sollte das Auge am Drucksatz eines Gedichts nicht seine besondere Freude haben? Jedenfalls diese Frage einmal aufgeworfen, ziehe ich eine besondere Freude einem besonderen Missfallen entschieden vor. . . ein solches Missfallen würde durch die alte Anfangsachse bei meinen 'Kreisgedichten' unbedingt erregt werden. Denn wenn vielleicht die eine Zeile nur eine Silbe enthält, enthält vielleicht bereits die nächste Zeile zwanzig Silben und mehr. Liesse ich daher die Achse, statt in die Mitte, an den Anfang legen, so würde dadurch das Auge gezwungen sein, immer einen genau doppelt so langen Weg zurückzulegen. Nach dem unbestreitbaren Prinzip des kleinsten Kraftmasses aber et cetera! ⁶¹

As will be shown later, when I assess the implications of the "Phantasmus" form for modern literature, this identification of the optical dimension

of poetry as an essential element of the aesthetic effect was an extremely modern insight. Moreover, when Holz further describes the "Mittelachse" as "das Ohrbild eines Gedichtes" and defines its effect as "typographische Musik",⁶² it is clear that he accords equal significance to the acoustic dimension. Holz, in fact, frequently likened his poetry to music, seeing, for example, the function of the "Mittelachse" as being to project the verse's "inner melody"⁶³ or, as on another occasion, describing Phantasus as nothing more or less than a musical score, which is meant, therefore, to be played not read.⁶⁴ It is probably this striving for musical effect that accounts for Holz's predilection for alliteration - the following line being a fairly typical example: "verkoste, verkauserierte, verkares=sierte, verfetierte, vermenuettierte, verflatterierte"⁶⁵ and which ultimately even induces him to rehabilitate the tabooed device of rhyme:

urherwärts rollende, urherwärts grollende
 lichtauf, lichtempor, lichthoch tollende
 sich drängen, sich zwingen
 sich
 kunden wollende. ⁶⁶

On one occasion Holz even attempts to translate music directly into words, when he describes an organ improvisation by J.S. Bach in a passage composed almost exclusively of onomatopoeic verbs and sustained by a regular rhythm.⁶⁷ This analogy with music merely underlines the extent to which rhythm in all its forms became the basis of composition, a rhythm that was perceptible to both ear and eye and of which Holz himself once said: "Grade der scheint mir oft mehr zu sagen als die Worte selbst."⁶⁸

Ultimately, however, Holz's preoccupation with rhythm extended beyond his interest in it as a purely aesthetic effect, for his positivistic proclivities convinced him that rhythm, like all other phenomena, must be governed by some definable law. In his essay of 1918, "Idee und Gestaltung

des Phantasus", Holz explains what he thought that law was:

Ein Beiwort zu viel, eine Bestimmung zu wenig, kurz ein Defekt! . .
Dieses bringt mich auf ein Gesetz, dessen Vorhandensein ich
entdeckte, dessen Gründe sich mir entziehen, dessen Vorhandensein
mir aber nichtsdestoweniger, und zwar mit aller Bestimmtheit,
immer wieder und wieder mein 'Gefühl' verrät. Nämlich, dass
meiner Rhythmik als allerletztes ein bestimmtes Zahlenverhältnis
zugrunde liegt!

Schönes, grünes, weiches
Gras

Drin
liege ich

Inmitten goldgelber Butterblumen!

Es ist nicht möglich, dass ich eins der drei 'Eigenschafts - oder
Beiworte' zu 'Gras' weglassen kann. Die Zeile fiel sofort in
sich zusammen und würde tot wirken! Und der ganze Gedichteingang,
der mich bestrickt in seiner Einfachheit, der mich 'gefangen' nimmt
durch seine 'Stimmung', und von dem ein Empfinden mir sagt, er ist
'vollendet', schliesst sich abermals in eine Dreiheit!⁶⁹

This discovery then led Holz to subject his entire work to similar scrutiny in search of a mathematical definition of the dynamics of rhythm and from this he evolved his "Zahlenarchitektonik",⁷⁰ a complex system of numbers that would regulate its development. Robert Röss, one of Holz's most ardent disciples, then completed this analysis in his manuscript entitled Die Zahl als formales Weltprinzip.⁷¹ This aspect of Holz's writing, however, need not detain us, for in truth it marked a contradiction of all the principles that Holz had previously expounded. For despite his attempts to reconcile his new discovery with his earlier but still central thesis that rhythm should develop organically from the content,⁷² in adopting a purely mathematical determinant of rhythm Holz was, in effect, imposing the same kind of extraneous pattern, albeit one decidedly more complex, on his material that he had so roundly condemned in the case of conventional metre. Such a process, abstracted from content,

could only produce either results so mechanistic as to be inimical to the essence of rhythm as Holz conceived of it, or alternatively, the type of poetry which he always claimed he rejected, namely, "eine(r) Musik durch Worte als Selbstzweck." Far from recognising this contradiction, however, Holz actually believed that he would revolutionise poetry with his system:

Diese Zahlenarchitektonik. . .drängte sich mir. . .als eine so notwendige, sich, 'mit den Dingen deckende' auf, dass ich mir eine noch tiefere, gewaltigere und zwingendere Bindung, da sie jetzt alles umfasst und absolut nichts mehr ausserhalb der Grenzen ihrer Greifmöglichkeit liegt, nicht mehr vorstellen kann.⁷³

The consequences for his own writing, however, were not so beneficial and for this reason I would agree with Franz Kleitsch that in Phantasus it is necessary to differentiate between two types of rhythm, namely "eine sich stets aus den Dingen gebärende oder immanente Rhythmik" and "eine dieser ursprünglich zugrundeliegende, dann aber sich verselbständigende Zahlenarchitektonik."⁷⁴ In my opinion, it is the first of those which constitutes Holz's real literary achievement in Phantasus and as I hope to show, that would also appear to be the verdict of subsequent creative writers.

If rhythm is one area in which Phantasus can be said to have made a substantial formal advance, then the other major achievement of Holz's poetry is his use and development of language itself in the sense of the individual word. As a comparison of the final 'Nachlass' edition (over 1500 pages in all) with the original two slim volumes of 1898/9 indicates, Phantasus's main mode of development was that of word-expansion. The proliferation of words in which this process resulted has been described variously as gratuitous ornamentation⁷⁵ and as the inevitable product of Holz's poetic attempt to create a "Weltbild" as an extensive totality.⁷⁶

Holz himself, however, regarded it as an essential process of differentiation and rejected the criticism that his method of expansion was simply an arbitrary augmentation of vocabulary: "Sie verwechselten Addition and Division, wo Sie mir 'Häufung' vorwarfen, während Differenzierung vorlag."⁷⁷ However, that this process of differentiation is in theory infinite, with each new qualification in turn requiring its own further differentiation, can be illustrated by a simple comparison. Earlier I quoted the first five lines of the 1898 version of the poem, "Sieben Billionen Jahre vor meiner Geburt." The next lines read as follows:

Auf seinem dunklen Wasser
 schwamm
 meine blaue Riesenblüte. 78

In the 'Nachlass' version these eight words have expanded to eighty-two and the only element of the sentence to retain its relative absence of characteristics or, to use Holz's terminology, the only element to escape complex differentiation - is the "Wasser", which, nevertheless, is now plural and no longer "dunkel" but "sich wölbend". The "Riesenblüte", for example, is not simply blue but is "meine dunkel-metallische, halkyonisch-phallische, klingend-kristallische Riesenblüten-Szepterkrone", while the relative passivity of "schwamm" is replaced by a series of dynamic verbs: "stieg, stiess, steilte, teilte, speilte, verglühete, zerströmte, versprühte sich." This dynamic intensification is further effected by a number of adverbs and present participles describing the volcanic quality of the flower:

geheimnisträchtigst, geheimnismächtigste
 geheimnishehrst
 sich selbst begattend, sich selbst befruchtend, sich selbst beschattend, sich selbst
 zerzeugend,
 Flammenkugelmeteore,
 Kometenkaskaden, Planetenbuntkränze

verschwenderisch
um sich regnend, verspenderisch um sich segnend,
vergeuderisch
um sich
schwingschleudernd.

Finally, the effect of the flower on the water (described in the 1916 version, for example, simply as "neue, kreisende Weltenringe")⁷⁹ is "neue, wallende, werdende, wogende, brauende, brodelnde, kreisende Weltenringe." Whether such "differentiation" is deemed to heighten or reduce the effect of the original lines, certainly there seems no logical reason why this version should mark the end of the process, even though it is at a third stage of differentiation removed from the original. Moreover, its real significance lies not so much in the quantity of differentiation - and astonishingly in "Das Tausendundzweite Märchen" Holz succeeded in constructing a single sentence of 2516 lines in length - but rather in the quality of differentiation, that is to say, in the type of language that this process generated. In this respect Holz himself claimed, with characteristic immodesty but, on this occasion at least, with undoubted justification, that Phantasmus was unique:

Man wird finden: die Zahl der Worte in ihm, die noch nie bisher in einem deutschen Verse, geschweige denn gar in deutscher "Lyrik", gebracht und gebraucht wurden, ist eine so ungeheuer, die Anzahl der Neubildungen, die sich als solche erst bei näherem Zusehn entpuppen, so sehr gehen sie in den Ton des Übrigen auf, ausserdem eine so überraschende, dass ich mich nicht scheue hier niederzuschreiben: kein Wortkunstwerk unserer Sprache kann nach dieser Richtung. . . mit ihm. . . in Vergleich gezogen werden!⁸⁰

As this quotation indicates, the aspect of poetic expression that Holz extended more than any other is that of vocabulary. Alfred Döblin described this trait of Holz's writing as "der Zug ins Enzyklopädische",⁸¹ an apposite metaphor in more senses than one, since Holz considered the encyclopaedia as "der lebendigste, bewegtste, reichste Orbis pictus der

Welt, ein Verzeichnis ihrer Schätze, die nur darauf warten, gewürdigt und genossen zu werden."⁸² It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the "Weltbild" of Phantasmus, corresponding to a reality that Holz perceived as "buntwimmelnd kaleidoskopisch",⁸³ should be reflected in a mosaic of words and references which was, in nature and extent, itself virtually encyclopaedic. As certain examples from Phantasmus have already illustrated, one particular lexical element to which Holz was drawn was the synonym, partly because, from the point of view of content, it facilitated the subtlety of differentiation to which he aspired, and partly because it was conducive to the formal technique of extended word-chains, as in the following example:

in
den von mir
gewaltheftigst, gewalthitzigst
gewaltätigst
aufgerenkten, aufgerissenen, aufgesprengten
krampf়igst
verquollenen, blaurotst verschwollenen,
gaumenbögenzatterigen, zäpfchenzipfelzitterigen,
ruckweis, schluckweis, zuckweis
notgedrungen, notgenötigt, notgezwungen,
klückkluckernd
schlingernden, schluckernden,
zungenschlubbernden, zungenschubbernden,
zungenschlabbernden
Schlundrachen

84

Another encyclopaedic characteristic of Phantasmus is the wealth of specialist expressions it contains, drawing on various branches of science and the arts and referring to a plethora of names, both geographical and terminological as well as those of people, real and imaginary.

The "Fremdwort" also plays a substantial role in the vocabulary of Phantasmus, and Holz drew his material from innumerable languages including English, French, Italian, Greek, Latin, Dutch, Spanish and Arabic. "Das Tausendundzweite Märchen" is particularly rich in examples, but it is also a characteristic of the earliest versions, as in this poem of 1898:

So eine kleine Fin-de-Siècle-Krabbe, die Lawn tennis schlägt!

Rote, gewellte Madonnenscheitel,
eine lichtblau Blouse aus Merveilleux
und im flohfarbnen Gürtel ein Veilchensträusschen,
das nach amerikanischen Cigaretten duftet. 85

This was, perhaps, one obvious way Holz saw of effecting the necessary "Erneuerung. . . (des) Sprachbluts", particularly as it provided a new source of rhyme material, in which he regarded the German language to be so impoverished. Schulz attributes an ironic function to its use, as a means of distanciation from his own language - not so much a "Fremdwort", then, as a "Verfremdungswort" - and this is surely correct, for any critical reading of Phantasmus must take into account the two crucial elements of irony and word-play.⁸⁶

Without doubt, however, the most radically innovatory aspect of Holz's vocabulary is his facility for coining neologisms, which, again, is a constant and increasingly pervasive feature of Phantasmus's development. Sometimes they take the simple form of a new word derived from an existing one - "sich kilometern",⁸⁷ for example - but much more common is the tendency to combine two or more words into a single unit as in an adjective like "innenfühlerhohlraumversteckt."⁸⁸ Such word-combinations serve two functions. Firstly, they enable Holz to compress as much content as possible into one semantic unit, what Schmidt-Henkel neatly terms "kondensierte(n) Wirklichkeitsbeschwörungen."⁸⁹ Thus, an extended

noun like "Baumriesenwipfelblütengigantenschmetterlinge"⁹⁰ can be broken down into the phrase "Schmetterlinge, gross wie Giganten in den Blüten und Wipfeln von Baumriesen". Secondly, the word-combinations serve as a means of intensification, as in such extremes of tautology as "bis in meine untersten Grundgrundgründe"⁹¹ or "das fernstfernst Fernste".⁹² This last example illustrates a further predominant characteristic of Phantasmus, namely, Holz's predilection for superlatives often strung together in an extended series. This was not just a stylistic device, Holz insisted, but also a fundamental expression of content:

Nehmen Sie sich fünf beliebige Seiten vor und streichen Sie auf diesen die betreffenden 'Estees', und Sie werden anderer Meinung werden! Fast der gesamte 'Phantasmus' entspringt einer beinahe ununterbrochenen 'Ekstatik' und dieser 'Seelen'-Zustand gefordert diese Form. Sie finden sie, wie ich hoffen mochte, nirgends, wo 'Ruhe' und 'Erfüllung' herrscht. Aber sie überstürzt sich geradezu selbst, wo das Gegenteil herrscht. Dafür kann nicht ich sondern das 'wollen' und 'setzen' durch die Dinge!⁹³

If there was one particular type of neologism that fascinated Holz, however, it was onomatopoeia. Phantasmus contains not only all manner of interjections - "Pphh", "Ah-hemm!",⁹⁴ "Wüllenwüschchen! Tülltlüllelöl! Guckeruku! Krillekrällekrolle! Bridibidibomm"⁹⁵ - but also a number of sound-portraits, such as the following rendition of birds singing in a tree:

Jückjuckjanners! Nu mal wat anners!

Jückjuckjachter! Nu von achter!

Jückjuckjarscher

Jümmer karscher! Jümmer harscher! Jümmer barscher!

Jümmertau!

Jückjuckjör Wedder von vör!

Treck em rut! Schreg de Brut! Greint un Grind! Tgiff n Kind!

Zippzippzenn! Na, un wenn! Schlippschluppschlenn!

Wenn schon, denn!

Deidüdeldomm! Dreih di omm! Quitschquitschquiet! Vun de Sied!

Düwels Dunner! Lat mi drunner!

Widibridibröwer! Legg di dröwer! Widibridibrupp! Leg di drupp!

Hahaha! He lett all na! Hûjüjönn! Fällt em nich ön!

Tscharktscharktschack! Autsch min Sack!

Tscharktscharktschien! Olet Swien! Tscharktscharktscharken! Olet Farken!

Knirreknärreknarr! Uck de Pfarr!

Knörreknärreknöster! Uck de Köster! Knirreknärreknanter! Uck de Kanter!

96

This passage illustrates another facet of Holz's use of language, for interspersed between the various bird-sounds is a series of responses reproduced in Prussian dialect. Elsewhere, too, can be found jargon and everyday language, all of which has rightly been characterised as the "Sprechton" of Phantasmus, namely, "der Versuch, abgebrauchte Alltagsworte poesiefähig zu machen".⁹⁷ As with the use of punctuation to indicate a pause in speech, hesitation etc., Kleitsch sees this as a residual effect of consequential Naturalism,⁹⁸ but it is surely most improbable that some thirty-five years after Neue Gleise Holz would still have asserted the validity of "Sekundenstil" characterisation. For this reason and bearing in mind also the way Holz manipulates language generally in Phantasmus, I find much more convincing Schulz's view that this represents another example of Holz's self-irony, that is to say, a relativisation of his former style.⁹⁹

This argument seems all the more tenable when seen in relation to the way Holz utilises quotation in Phantasmus, for a close study of the text reveals many an ironic self-reference, to his "Kunstgesetz", for example, the "Sein oder Nichtsein" of Hamlet and, of course, "Papa Hamlet",¹⁰⁰ the deployment for long passages of the Baroque language of Holz's Dafnis and also actual quotations from that work.¹⁰¹ Holz's own work, however, is only one source of material, for, as Schulz's extensive analysis of this aspect of Phantasmus demonstrates,¹⁰² Holz incorporates a wealth

of quotation, in either direct, modified or blatantly parodied form and ranging from the clichéed familiar to the abstrusely opaque. For the moment it is sufficient to add that frequently Holz structures such material into a collage, as is the case, for example, with a poem in the 1916 version which takes as its subject a "Litfasssäule":

" ACHTUNG ! ACHTUNG !! ACHTUNG !!! "

Mit
grellen Farben schreit die
Litfasssäule:

"Mondamin !"

"Dreissigtausend Menschen waren im Messpalast !"

"Pst, Sie !
Die geplatzte Emma !"

"Halt !
Mehr Goethe !"

"Papst Cohn !"

"Wilhelm, der Geschmackvolle,
als
Erzieher !"

"Das neue Weib !"

"Abeles,
der
Neo-Romantiker !"

"Das
weltenträtselnde Substanzgesetz !"

"Wie
sag ich's meinem
Kinde ?"

"Nietzsche oder die Philosophie
als
Serpentintänzerin !"

"Wählt Zubeil !"

Ein
Platzregen prasselt,
der ganze Dreck ... hängt in Fetzen. 103

As can be seen from previous chapters, the use of quotation is a constant feature of Holz's work. In Buch der Zeit it was a clumsy, almost obtrusive device, an index in itself of the lack of formal awareness in Holz at that time, whereas in "Papa Hamlet", although much more refined in its implementation and beautifully integrated into the body of the story, it was restricted in the main to one effect and served primarily as a function of content. In Phantasmus, however, it is developed through its pervasive and differentiated application into an effect in and for itself such that ultimately it is reducible primarily to the dictates of form. As I hope to show in the following analysis, it is in this fully developed stage as a purely formal technique that Holz's use of quotation prefigures its appearance in modern literature.

In conclusion, I would concede that in one sense the assessment of Phantasmus I have provided so far is somewhat artificial in that the analysis has tended to abstract from their overall context the various literary techniques which Holz developed. To a certain extent this was determined by the nature and aim of my dissertation having, as it does, its focus primarily on the formal and the innovatory, which has the, per-

haps, inevitable effect of short-circuiting any evaluation of Phantasus as a whole and eschewing discussion of its very real weaknesses as a work of literature. In truth, the relative obscurity of Phantasus in its own time was not coincidental (nor, for that matter, is its subsequent resonance over the last two decades.) Significantly, Holz himself wrote of Phantasus in 1919 that he would be happy if people had even begun to understand it after twenty or thirty years¹⁰⁴ and a charitable interpretation of that statement might take it as indicating at least a subconscious awareness on Holz's part of the work's defects (for only rarely did he consciously admit to them!) Identification of defects does not mean, though, that like Roy Cowen, for whom the significance of Phantasus lies in the curious proposition that it supposedly demonstrates the impossibility of a consequential-Naturalist poetics¹⁰⁵ - we must evaluate the work in purely negative terms; but certain weaknesses there are nonetheless. The most obvious is that its sheer length and, at times, impenetrability makes a reading of the entire Phantasus in its later forms the literary equivalent of at least two of the Herculean labours! That is to say, my analysis, although it defines the nature of Holz's formal techniques, can give no proper indication of the extent of their deployment and it is a sad but inescapable fact that many become positively tiresome through over-use (the repetition of superlatives, to give but one example.) Arguably the main failing, however, is that the dualistic conception on which Holz based the work (i.e. "Weltbild" and "Autobiographie einer Seele") is not realised. As Schulz puts it, Holz forgot the boundaries of subjectivism, with the result that the claims of the "Weltbild" are submerged by those of the "Ich". The intended dialectic between "Ich"

and "Welt" is curtailed by the identity of the work's experiencing subject and its author and the result, for Schulz, is solipsism.¹⁰⁶ Rappl, in fact, goes beyond this and formulates the problem at the level of an antinomy:

Die Intention des Theoretikers und Künstlers Arno Holz war es, die Unmittelbarkeit der Natur und des Daseins zurückzugewinnen; nur durch die Aufhebung der Verfestigungen, in deren Natur und Dasein den Subjekten verfügbar waren, vermochte sich diese Intention zu verwirklichen. Aber indem der Künstler die Unmittelbarkeit beschwor, entzogen sich die Gegenstände ihrer Begrenzung und keine Vermittlung durch Erkenntnis und Sprache vermochte die Unmittelbarkeit wieder in Bilde zu versöhnen. Nur in der Zerstörung des Bildes bewahrte sich der Anspruch der Kunst, "wieder die Natur zu sein."¹⁰⁷

This seems to me, as far as Phantasus is concerned at least, too negative a verdict in that it does not acknowledge the positive side effects of Holz's attempt at "Unmittelbarkeit". Döblin, on the other hand, as ever the most perceptive of Holz's admirers, expressed it more dialectically when he wrote: "Das Ganze entglitt ihm. Aber sein Unbewusstes, gegen sein Gehirn, befahl ihm zu folgen, und er kam auf ein neues Gebiet."¹⁰⁸ The "new realm" that Holz discovered was his formal legacy to modern literature and the task now is to identify the heirs to that legacy.

(ii) THE LEGACY OF "PHANTASUS"

In her analysis of Holz's work, Ingrid Strohschneider-Kohrs has argued that his writing is dominated by one aim, namely, that of developing language as an artistic means into a vehicle of immediacy, of attaining through language the maximum proximity to reality.¹ The attempted realisation of this aim in Phantasmus, she argues, opened up two different possibilities: the first is what she describes as "radikale Steigerung einer Einfühlungskunst..., die die Identität von lyrischem Ich und erlebtem Gegenstand in detaillierten Gestalten zu vergegenwärtigen sucht" and the relationship it defines is that between Holz and Expressionism. The second possibility which it offers is "eine ästhetische Totalität, die nicht mehr Sinngestalt, sondern nur artistische Eigenwelt zu bedeuten scheint"² and the relationship which this suggests is one between Phantasmus and a particular type of formalist poetry, which could be subsumed under a term deployed in an earlier chapter of this dissertation, namely, "the technicisation of literature." To these I would add one further possibility, namely, a type of prose-writing which is neither Expressionist nor expressly formalist but of which certain characteristics, it could be argued, relate it to particular stylistic tendencies in Phantasmus. Clearly, however, such parameters of relationship, while useful as guidelines, are broad enough to accomodate any number of different concrete cases. In the following, therefore, I shall restrict myself either to those relationships which have been most commonly asserted or - which may or may not be the same thing - those which, in my opinion, allow of the best textual verification.

Certainly, the affinities with Expressionism fall into the first category, since this is a relationship that has been continually posited

by critics both within and since Holz's life-time. Fritz Martini's comments, for example, are fairly typical:

Erst der geschichtliche Rückblick und eine allmählich vertiefte Kenntnis der sogenannten expressionistischen Bewegung lassen begreifen, dass Arno Holz der gesamten deutschen spätneuzeitlichen 'Moderne' entscheidende Anregungen gegeben hat; dass der Phantastus-Dichter sehr wesentliche Impulse an die ihm meist nur verschwiegen folgende lyrische Entwicklung von Alfred Mombert bis zu Herwarth Walden. . . mitteilte, ja, dass diese ohne ihn kaum zu denken ist. Arno Holz hat die deutsche Moderne bis tief in den Expressionismus hinein eingeleitet.³

In this respect it is instructive - though by no means conclusive, of course - to turn to Holz's own assessment of the relationship between his poetry and Expressionism. This was occasioned by an article written in 1917 by John Schikowski which described Holz as the "pioneer of Expressionism." The young generation for whom Holz provided this stimulus, was, he argued, one in which "man verachtet die Welt der Sinne und die Tätigkeit des Intellekts und sucht durch inneres Schauen die Rätsel zu ergründen, die hinter dem Diesseits verborgen liegen".⁴ Expressionist art, Schikowski continued, by-passes the circuitous route of reason and appeals directly to the emotions; it aims not to describe or narrate but to penetrate with the power of its language directly through into the soul. Moreover, it was claimed, Holz had provided the means with which to express this in his discovery of rhythm as the ultimate determinant of poetry, for the recognition of the primacy of rhythm released art from the dictates of grammatical coherence, which the Expressionists saw as the embodiment of reason in language. Holz's use of language had paved the way, therefore, for "eine noch radikalere Ausmerzung alles rein Verstandesmäßigen."⁵ Holz's response to Schikowski's argument indicates that it was above all the conception of literary content that in

his view separated him from the Expressionists, for one or two side-swipes at their style notwithstanding - "was dadurch entsteht, ist nicht "Rhythmik", sondern. . .plumpste, primitivste. . ."Untermetrik"! "⁶ - it was precisely their subordination of reason to the emotions that Holz rejected most strongly: "durch inneres Schauen" allein. . .ohne dass ich "naturalistischer Beobachter" gewesen wäre, .. .hätte ich das "Fundament", auf dem nun die jüngste Generation. . ."weiterbaute", niemals gelegt".⁷ Phantasmus, as an earlier quotation from Holz showed,⁸ may well have in common with Expressionism an attempted communication of ecstasy but fundamental to that communication is, to borrow Heinrich Fauteck's phrase, the distinction between Holz, the "rationale(n) Ekstatiker", and the "visionären Ekstatiker" of Expressionism.⁹

In one sense, of course, the very attempt to establish a relationship between the style of Phantasmus and that of Expressionism as such is in itself a highly undifferentiating, not to say hazardous, undertaking for as Armin Arnold has emphasised, it is virtually impossible to identify that heterogeneous movement with any one particular mode of writing, since the only thing which many of the linguistic experiments of Expressionism have in common is the desire to break with tradition.¹⁰ For this reason I shall focus comparative analysis on the writer who, of all the Expressionists, is most often singled out in relation to Holz, August Stramm. Walter Muschg, for example, goes so far as to refer to Stramm as a "student" of Holz's;¹¹ nor can it be without significance that in his work of commemoration to Holz of 1951, entitled Verschollene und Vergessene. Arno Holz. Die Revolution der Lyrik, Alfred Döblin includes along with a selection from Holz's own work two poems by Stramm.¹² In fact, however, the relationship of Holz's work to Stramm's is a curiously paradoxical one in that

their surface-similarities often contain many a deeper divergence. That is not to say, however, that there is no area of genuine relationship between Holz and Stramm, but only that it is a different type of relationship to the unproblematical and substantial one that has been so commonly asserted in recent criticism.

Generally speaking, there are two real areas of similarity and in view of what we have defined as the primary location of Holz's "revolutionisation" of poetry, the first of those is, not unnaturally, that of rhythm. In the study of rhythm, referred to earlier, Schultz identifies the same sort of rhythmic structuring process that he described in Holz's work and illustrates this with a sentence from the poem "Heimlichkeit": "Die heissen Ströme brennen heiss zu Meere, und unsere Seelen rauschen ein in sich." These words could fit easily into a poem with regular rhythms and thus produce the following metrical scheme:

x| x' x| x' x| x' x| x' x| x' x
 x| x' u u| x' x| x' x| x' x| x' ^

whereas, in fact, Stramm structures the sentence as follows:

Die heissen Ströme	
Brennen	
Heiss	
Zu Meere	
Und	
Unsere Seelen	
Rauschen	x x' x x' u ^ x' u ^ = ^ x x' u ^
Ein	= x' u u x' u ^ x' x = = =
In	
Sich	

The effect is thus that of the "gestauter Rhythmus"¹⁴ that Holz achieved in Phantasia and this prompts Schultz to the view that the technique of

employing one-to three-syllable line-units in his poetry is one that Stramm directly appropriated from Holz.¹⁵ Although he does not substantiate this claim beyond the textual evidence, there are in fact a number of historical clues which would support it. Firstly, Stramm was a member of the so-called "Sturmkreis". This was named after the art journal, "Der Sturm", which was founded by Herwarth Walden in 1910 and on which Holz collaborated for the first four years of its publication.¹⁶ Walden not only determined to a large extent the theoretical and practical direction of the "Sturmkreis" but was also a major and acknowledged influence in Stramm's own development.¹⁷ To what degree Walden himself assimilated the main propositions of Holz's poetics can perhaps be judged by comparing certain of his statements with others by Holz quoted earlier. In his article of 1921 entitled "Kritik der vorexpressionistischen Dichtung", for example, Walden wrote the following about Heine's poem, "Der Asra":

Täglich ging die wunderschöne
Sultanstochter auf und nieder
Um die Abendzeit am Springbrunnen
Wo die weissen Wasser plätschern

Diese Strophe ist ohne Rhythmus. Die Sultanstochter auf und nieder plätschert in demselben Tempo wie die weissen Wasser gehen. Sie geht also einen Rhythmus, dem der Begriff gehen nicht entspricht. Hören wir dagegen die Verszeile des Sturmkünstlers August Stramm: Durch die Büsche winden Sterne. Rhythmisch gibt diese Zeile sinnlich die Vorstellung des Windens. Durch die Büsche winden Sterne. Keine Senkung zum Spass. Wenn die Sterne sich winden würden, würden wir das Winden nicht mehr fühlen. Durch die Büsche winden sich Sterne. Hören Sie, wie die Sterne sich dagegen auflehnen? Jedes Wort und die Stellung jedes Wortes ist künstlerische Notwendigkeit. (my italics)¹⁸

There are also similarly Holzian statements denouncing conventional metre and rhyme¹⁹ and if Walden's position can be characterised by the following:

"Das Material der Dichtung ist das Wort
Die Form der Dichtung ist der Rhythmus"²⁰

then it is true to say that although the apothegmatic character of this

particular formulation does not derive from Holz, its essence certainly does! Thus, even had Stramm not been directly acquainted with Holz's writing, he would, nevertheless, have necessarily encountered its influence within the "Sturmkreis". In fact, however, an entry from Stramm's diary informs us that he had read Holz's poetic theory.²¹

As regards Stramm's literary practice, however, three things need to be mentioned about his use of rhythm. If, as Schultz believes, the real innovation in Holz's poetry was the use of one-word, or even one-syllable, verse-lines,²² then arguably it is Stramm who, of all subsequent poets, has most developed that technique, as is best illustrated by his poem "Urtod" in which each of its forty-eight lines consists of no more than a single word. Secondly, although Stramm may have appropriated or adapted Holz's rhythm, he did not adopt one of Holz's other trademarks, namely, the "Mittelachse" structure, but retained what might, on the surface, appear as a more conventional typographical form. Thirdly, it is surely this, coupled with the recognition of the importance of rhythm in Stramm's writing, which led F.J. Schneider to describe Stramm's poetry as "eine Dichtung, die nach Verlebendigung durch den Vortrag schreit, die nicht mehr gedruckt und gelesen, sondern gesprochen sein will."²³ This immediately invites comparison with Holz, for critics, like Emrich for example, have frequently argued that ideally Phantasmus should be spoken not read²⁴ and indeed, as noted earlier, on one occasion Holz more or less said as much himself. However, this comparison conceals a very real difference. For apart from the purely visual effect, which is in any case common to both Holz's and Stramm's work, it is true to say, I think, that while much would be gained from a spoken reading of Phantasmus, little would be lost. This is most certainly not the case with Stramm, however,

for as J.J. White has well pointed out, what Schneider's comments ignore is the element of ambiguity in Stramm's poetry from which it derives so many of its effects and which the interpretative act of reading will destroy.²⁵ I will say more about this crucial dimension of Stramm's poetry later, however, and for the moment content myself with the observation that it is not a comparable feature of Holz's Phantasmus.

The second area in which it is possible to establish similarities between Holz and Stramm is in their relationship to language. It may well appear to be operating at the level of a platitude to say that as poets both revealed a meticulous concern with language, but Holz's and Stramm's attention to words, it seems to me, is demonstrably greater than most. In Stramm's case the existence of numerous versions of the same poem (twenty-five of the poem, "Untreu", and thirteen of "Blüte", for example)²⁶ indicates a sense of dissatisfaction with the finished article similar to that which drove Holz on from one revision of Phantasmus to the next. Moreover, their common preoccupation with the myriad nuances of language was motivated by the same concern, namely, the avoidance of cliché. In this respect the following passage about his poem, "Freudenhaus", taken from a letter that Stramm wrote to Walden in June 1914, is of particular interest since it illustrates how scrupulous Stramm was in his choice of words:

Anbei schicke ich Dir die Korrektur. Es sind einige Kleinigkeiten drin. Besonders erwähnenswert erscheint mir die vorletzte Zeile, in der das Wort "schamzerpört" zu "schamzerstört" geworden ist. Ich weiss nicht, ob da nur ein Lesefehler oder eine Regung des Sprachgefühls des Druckers vorliegt. Jedenfalls sagt mir "scham=zerpört" mehr als das andere. Scham und Empörung ringen miteinander und die Scham zerdrückt. Auch "schamempört" sagt das lange nicht; ausserdem liegt das Wesen des Wortes "empört" meinem Gefühl nach nicht in dem "em", das höchstens für die Wortlehre als Erklärung Bedeutung hat, für das Gefühl liegt der Begriff des Empörens aber lediglich in dem "pören" oder vielmehr einfach vollständig in der

einen Lautverbindung "pö". Lass übrigens die beiden Striche drüber fort und der ganze Begriff stürzt zusammen! Deshalb halte ich "schatzerpört" hier für das einzige alles sagende Wort.²⁷

This quotation also indicates another aspect of language which Stramm has in common with Holz, namely, his use of neologisms. Indeed, Stramm's poetry contains many examples reminiscent of Holz, for instance, words formed from a simple base such as "zermilliont" or word-combinations like "Richtespurvag".²⁸ Similarly, Stramm's poem, "Der Marsch", consists mostly of onomatopoeia, highly redolent of Holz in their effect:

Rum und Trum
Rum und Trum
 "Potz Kerle! hebt die Beine!"
Rum und Trum
Rum und Trum
 "Verfluchte Sonne!" ... Schweine!

Flüt und Tü
Flüt und Tü
 "Der Brand! ... die heisse Kehle!"
Flüt und Tü
Flüt und Tü
 "Wie lang noch das Gequäle?"

Träterä
Träterä
 "Ei schaut! bläht dort das Röckchen!"
Träterä
Träterä
 "Verteufelt! steht das Böckchen!"

Rum und Trum
Rumlidibum
 "Wie blinkt das Dörfchen heiter!"
Flüt und Tü
Träterä
Und "weiter! weiter! weiter!"

29

This poem - curiously, one of only four in Stramm's work to retain verse-divisions - also reveals other Holzian traits: the insertion, emphasised typographically, of the comments of onlookers in colloquial form - and the use of not altogether common dialect words is a regular feature of Stramm's writing - and the marked use of punctuation with its numerous

exclamation marks, its idiosyncratic but typically Holzian combination of punctuation elements (?!) and its use of dots as a notation of silence.

However, the incidental similarities between Holz's and Stramm's neologisms are, in my opinion, less important than the fundamental difference between them, in the sense that these differences could also be said to characterise their poetry as a whole. Firstly, the basic principles of construction are diametrically opposed in nature for whereas Holz, as we have seen, principally used the technique of expansion, Stramm's mode was based on the condensation of language. Consequently, Holz increasingly sought to create neologisms or experiment with language generally by extending individual words or syllables into word-chains or combinations, whereas Stramm tended to the opposite effect of stripping language down, either by condensing words or returning to their root-form. Indeed, the example cited earlier typifies this difference for whereas Stramm coins the evocative neologism, "schamzerpört", by compressing three concepts into one, Holz would undoubtedly have extended the concepts into a word-chain so as to form a line such as, say: "schamempört, schamzerstört, schamzerdrückt." One could almost argue that Stramm was truer to Holz's theory than its author in the sense that in his concentration of meaning, in his search for and occasional discovery of "das einzig alles sagende Wort" and in his reduction of poetry to its essentials Stramm could be said to have implemented what Holz preached but rarely practised, namely, "letzte Einfachheit. . . das höchste Gesetz".³⁰

And yet, of course, Stramm's poetry is only "simple" in one sense. Indeed, one could cite Stramm's work as a paradigmatic realisation of the following suggestions by Charles Olson in his essay, "Projective Verse":

It would do no harm. . .if both time and meter, and, in the quantity of words, both sense and sound, were less in the forefront of the mind than the syllable. . .With this warning, to those who would try: to step back here to this place of the elements and minims of language, is to engage speech where it is least careless - and least logical.³¹

Thus, the second crucial difference between Stramm's neologisms and those of Holz - and, by extension, between their styles generally - is that Stramm's are simple in formation but complex in significance, while Holz's are the reverse of that. That is to say, the language of Stramm's poetry is very often rich in ambiguity or - to use a term which J.J. White prefers and, in my view, quite correctly - in "plurisignificance".³² Thus, to give but one example, the title of Stramm's remarkable poem, "Urtod", is, as Jeremy Adler has admirably shown, susceptible to a whole range of interpretations being "a word, which, when treated to constituent part analysis, signifies both beginning and end, the beginning of the end, and the end of the beginning."³³ It is, surely, precisely this multi-dimensionality of meaning to which the quality of much of Stramm's poetry is attributable and Adler has accurately described the method from which it derives: "Operating within one comparatively enclosed semantic field, Stramm nonetheless invokes a whole world of meanings, exploiting a minimum of means to the maximum extent."³⁴ Nothing could contrast more forcibly with Holz's method, and inventive though his use of language undeniably is at times, it offers no real equivalent to the subtle "plurisignificance" of Stramm's poetry.

I suggested earlier that the relationship between Holz's work and Stramm's is a paradoxical one and by way of conclusion I would like to compare two poems which illustrate both the similarities and the differences that are discernible in their poetry as a whole:

(Holz)

Eine Dune

Auf ihr,
Einsam,
Ein Haus,
Draussen Regen,
Ich am Fenster.
Hinter mir,
Tiktak,
Eine Uhr,
Meine Stirn
Gegen die Scheibe
Nichts.
Alles vorbei!
Grau der Himmel,
Grau die See,
Und grau
Das Herz.

35

(Stramm)

FREUDENHAUS

Lichte dirnen aus den Fenstern
Die Seuche
Spreitet an der Tür
Und bietet Weiberstöhnen aus!
Frauenseelen schämen grelle Lache!
Mutterschösse gähnen Kindestod!
Ungeborenes
Geistet
Dünstelnd
Durch die Räume!
Scheu
Im Winkel
Schamzerpört
Verkriecht sich
Das Geschlecht!

36

The first thing to be noted is the typically staccato rhythm that earned from Holz's contemporaries the pejorative label of "Telegramm=lyrik"³⁷ and which is intensified here by the fact that in this poem Holz eschews the longer sentences so characteristic of the later Phantasus versions. The concomitant of this rhythm is the equally typical isolation of particular words, the most important example of which is, in both cases, the final word of the poem. In Holz's poem the effect is to deepen the connotations of "grau" from the purely visual sense it derived from qualifying "Himmel" and "See" to the metaphorical level of "Herz". Just as the final isolation of "das Herz" thus reveals the whole poem as the evocation of a state of mind, so too the concluding "das Geschlecht" of "Freudenhaus" conveys in its pointed isolation the same debasement and impersonal character of prostitutional sex that the poem thematises as a whole. Stramm himself underlines his intention in isolating the words when, in the letter quoted earlier, he points out to Walden a further printing error in the published version of this poem:

Ebenso könnte in der letzten Zeile zwischen "Verkriecht sich" und "Das Geschlecht" eine Lücke bleiben, wie das im Manuskript auch stehen wird. Hinter "sich" ist die scharfe Senkung und "das Geschlecht" ist neue starke Hebung. Ich habe es absichtlich nicht in eine neue Zeile gesetzt, weil durch die Lücke und das Seitwärtsschieben des ganzen Wortes mir eben das Verkriechen auch äusserlich zum Ausdruck gebracht schien. . . .³⁸

In other words, the final verse-line is to be isolated for emphasis not only rhythmically but also graphically. This points to a further similarity between these two poems which, in one sense at least, is in fact, rather untypical, namely, their lay-out. For once Holz does not use the "Mittelachse" structure but the vertical axis, which was a constant feature of Stramm's poetry, with the result that the poems appear visually more similar than any other examples. This should not be taken to mean,

however, that Stramm was, as it were, typographically more conservative than Holz, for both were keenly aware of the visual element of poetry. The two basic structures most commonly deployed in Stramm's poems could be seen as the pillar and the triangle. In his most illuminating analysis of "Urtod" Jeremy Adler has shown how the column of words that comprise the poem assumes the character of a monument and thus conveys in its visual image "the relentlessly linear and irreversible progression of life through time"³⁹ that its title also denotes. The effect of the triangle shape, on the other hand, is to create both a rhythmically and visually dynamic impression.⁴⁰ Although "Freudenhaus" is not triangular in its lay-out as a whole, as is the case with a poem like "Verzweifelt", it nevertheless contains, as my markings make clear, triangular components, as does to a lesser extent Holz's poem also.

At a superficial level, therefore, these two poems are not dissimilar. And yet, as even the most cursory reading must reveal, they are despite their rhythmic and visual similarity totally different in intensity. For whereas Holz does little more than draw the contours of a scene, Stramm paints a complete and striking picture, with hardly a single word wasted or superfluous. The sheer detail that Stramm condenses into the fifth and sixth lines, for example, almost defies analysis: the prostitutes are creatures who have renounced their natural being as women and mothers, whose wombs open not in order to bring forth life but to facilitate death through abortion and who have therefore forfeited their souls, as is epitomised by their raucous, unnatural laughter. All that in seven words! Whereas Holz's poem contains hardly an image of note - and "grau das Herz" barely escapes the status of cliché - by contrast virtually every other word in "Freudenhaus" is rich in new and evocative connotations.

We have already noted the multiple nuances of "schamzerpört". Similarly, "die Seuche" (line 2) denotes not only the physical disease of the syphilitic prostitute, sitting, legs apart, at the door-way, but also, by refusing to refer to her in human terms, the mental or moral affliction caused by the inhuman depersonalisation of existence in the brothel. Indeed, the unexpected engages our attention within the first two words, for "lichte" could be either an adjective or a noun, and "dirnen" either a noun (without a capital letter) or a verbal neologism. Ultimately, I think the meaning is clear - candles in the brothel windows entice the prospective clients - but the syntax remains ambiguous. It was quite probably sentence structure of this type which led Holz, in rejecting Schikowski's identification of him with Expressionism, to declare:

Man darf und soll in unserer durch die Jahrtausende gewordenen und Ring um Ring organisch gewachsenen Sprache nichts "vernachlässigen", und schon gar "bewusst", und vollends am wenigsten den "logischen Satzbau". Nur da, wo sie ihn selbst. . . vernachlässigt, wo sie ihn selbst nicht befolgt, soll man ihn auch nicht befolgen. "Natürlich" und nicht "künstlich"! ⁴¹

Leaving aside for the moment the question of to what extent Holz himself adhered to conventional syntax, we need only note that Stramm rarely, if ever, dissolves syntax for its own sake. Rather he tends either to loosen grammatical relationships for the purposes of ambiguity or to use alien grammar in order to produce what has been termed the "grammatical metaphor." ⁴²

The poems, "Eine Düne" and "Freudenhaus", may well thus have the same basis or "Fundament", as Schikowski called it; but they are truly worlds apart in intensity and effect, if not, however, in style. Moreover, Holz in fact wrote "Eine Düne" in 1893, i.e. prior to his real work on Phantasus. This is surely significant, for the surface-similarities

with Stramm are as great, if not greater, in this poem than in any of the subsequent poetry. Thus, what Phantasmus in all its development tells us about the relationship between Holz and Stramm is that although they may well have begun from a common starting-point, thereafter their respective paths were increasingly to diverge. After all, if one considers the two men's mature poetry, it would be difficult to imagine a greater contrast than that between the formalist prolixity of Holz's "Das Tausendundzweite Märchen" and the economy and intensity of Stramm's "Urtod". That is to say, their relationship is not the unproblematical one that has been commonly posited by numerous critics but a classic example of what I have referred to as a tendential relationship.

If the identification of Phantasmus with Expressionism was one thing which Holz at least was at pains to refute, then another relationship which engaged his attention was that implicit in the criticism that his innovations had in fact "revolutionised" poetry out of existence and had produced what essentially was nothing more than elevated prose.⁴³ From the standpoint of the present, where the elision of genre distinctions has long since ceased to be regarded as an artistic heresy, the question of whether Phantasmus is or is not poetry concerns us far less than its possible relationship to other modes of writing. Holz's own view, however, was characteristically contradictory. For while in his more tolerantly modernist moments he professed it to be a matter of complete indifference to him how his work was categorised, on other occasions he reacted vehemently to the view that his poetry was to all intents and purposes only prose and thus might just as well be written as such.⁴⁴ Although as usual he does not confront the problem systematically, Holz suggests that there are three things which distinguish poetry in general, and his poetry in

particular, from ordinary prose. The first is that "die Prosa kümmert sich um Klangwirkungen überhaupt nicht."⁴⁵ As a generalisation this is demonstrably untrue, a fact which perhaps Holz even sensed himself, for he follows this bald assertion with the qualification, "wenigstens nicht um Klangwirkungen in dem Sinne, um den einzig es sich hier drehen kann",⁴⁶ a statement which effectively collapses the original distinction. Merely to assert that the acoustic effects of poetry are somehow different from those of prose does little in itself to illuminate the difference between the two. Equally tenuous is the distinction, referred to earlier, that Holz makes between the prose version of the sentence, "Der Mond steigt hinter blühenden Apfelbaumzweigen auf", which "referiert nur", and its poetic adaptation

Hinter blühenden Apfelbaumzweigen
steigt der Mond auf

which, according to Holz, "stellt dar". The problem with these terms is that they are purely subjective. Whether a particular sentence is thought to be "referierend" or "darstellend" depends primarily on the recipient rather than on the application of objective criteria. Holz himself admits as much when comparing the old form of poetry to his new one:

Bei der älteren Form liegt das Schwierige wesentlich in der Form selbst. Und dieses Schwierige lässt sich überwinden. Denn es ist im Grunde handwerklich. Bei der neueren Form setzt die Schwierigkeit bereits früher ein und sitzt hier tiefer. Sie besteht im Wesentlichen darin, dass man vor allem seine Vorstellung klar hat.⁴⁷

Moreover, this holds equally true for the third distinction Holz proposes, namely, that only poetry reveals the words' "necessary" or "natural" rhythm, for as Borchardt remarks: "Es besteht. . .kein Zweifel, dass dieser 'notwendige' Rhythmus unter objektiven Kriterien so nicht erfasst werden kann und dass damit der höchsten Subjektivität Tor und Tür geöffnet ist."⁴⁸

Obviously, as Schultz points out, even a sentence of prose has a rhythm,⁴⁹ but in Holz's example the reason why the second version flows more "naturally" is that the inversion makes the sentence appear both visually and rhythmically more bi-partite and also emphasises, again both rhythmically and typographically, the dynamic centre of the sentence, "steigt".⁵⁰ However, there is no reason why this sentence cannot be written in its inverted form, and thus with approximately the same rhythmic effect, as prose. The main flaw in Holz's argumentation would seem to be that he implies a spuriously absolute polarity between "referierende Prosa" and "darstellende Lyrik" which ignores the substantial middle ground of what, to remain with Holz's terms, could be called "darstellende Prosa". Moreover, the boundary between this and poetry is sufficiently fluid to allow of a tendential relationship between Phantasus and certain forms of prose-writing. That is to say, apart from that of the division of sentences into verse-lines, it is quite possible to accomodate within the framework of prose certain of the techniques which Holz developed in his poetry.

The one which undoubtedly has the most relevance for prose-writing is Holz's technique of "differentiation", since, it is commonly claimed, this provides the formal basis for one of the most important prose-innovations of modern literature, the stream-of-consciousness. Emrich, for example, writes as follows of Holz's attempt to convey in language the kaleidoscopic structure of subjectivity:

Um den unmittelbaren, lebendigen Ausdruck des Vorstellungsbildes zu erreichen, muss die Sprache bis zum äussersten differenziert und nuanciert werden, was zu einer ungeheuerlichen Aufschwellung von Attributen führt, die immer genauer, immer treffender das Vorstellungsbild einfangen wollen; die Sprachmittel verselbständigen sich; entsprechend verliert die Thematik des Werkes alle gewohnten Konturen. Die gesamte Vorstellungswelt des Menschen zieht kaleidoskopartig in ständigem Wechsel an uns vorüber, unmittelbar alles, was überhaupt gefühlt, gedacht, geträumt, erinnert werden kann, wird

sprachlich gestaltet, ohne irgendeinen Orientierungspunkt geistiger, sittlicher oder auch nur räumlicher oder zeitlicher Art. . . Das gilt nicht nur für Arno Holz, sondern für alle modernen Dichter, die den "inneren Monolog", das heisst die Abbildung der gesamten vielschichtigen inneren Vorstellungswelt des Menschen. . . in den Mittelpunkt ihrer Kompositionsweise stellen.⁵¹

The resultant "assoziative(n) Logik"⁵² of Phantasus's "Ich. . . ohne Kontur"⁵³ has led many critics to draw the parallel with James Joyce. For instance, in one of the first post-war attempts to re-assess the significance of Arno Holz, an article entitled "Arno Holz und die Literatur der neuen Zeit", - which was published, significantly, under the editorship of Alfred Döblin in the journal Das goldene Tor, - points to the similarities between certain passages in Phantasus and Joyce's Finnegans Wake.⁵⁴ More differentiated, in my view, is Schulz's more cautious comparison, with its all-important qualification that in many of Holz's passages - and in contrast to Joyce - "der Sinn. . . liegt suggestiv im Klang, Rhythmus, Ton und ist als Denkszusammenhang nicht mehr zu fassen."⁵⁵ In my opinion, however, the writer whose prose-work offers the best comparison with Phantasus is Alfred Döblin.

Döblin's view of Holz, in fact, was never a fixed or static one and nowhere, perhaps, is this better illustrated than in his evaluation of Phantasus. However, when in 1929 he bemoans the fact that writers do not appear to have learned anything from that work, the implication is clearly that he, Döblin, has.⁵⁶ Moreover, if, as an essay in the following year makes clear,⁵⁷ the lesson that Döblin drew from Phantasus was at that time in fact a critical one, then it is equally true to say that ten years earlier at any rate his response was a less qualified one, and that to a certain extent the stylistic influence of Phantasus can be detected in Döblin's own early prose-work, such as Berge, Meere und Giganten.

At this time the idea on which Döblin's work centred was the all too

familiar concept of "Natur". His sole task as an artist, Döblin wrote in 1920, was: "Ausweiten die Fühl- und Denkweise; im engsten Andrang an die Natur, an die herumliegenden und mit mir wachsenden Realitäten selber wachsen."⁵⁸ Accordingly he could describe his utopian novel Berge, Meere und Giganten as a " 'Sang' an die grosse Natur"⁵⁹ whose main theme was "die Schrankenlosigkeit der Natur, ihr Wuchern und Überwuchern"⁶⁰ Moreover, the relationship to language that corresponded to this epic vision was conceived of by Döblin in identical terms to those which he was later to apply to Phantasmus:

Ich liebe sonst Knappheit. Hier (i.e. in Berge, Meere und Giganten, R.A.B.) konnte ich Impulsen rein sprachlicher Art nicht widerstehen. Es ging ins Weite, Farbige. Es war, als wenn sich alles autonom machen wollte, und ich musste auf der Hut sein. Das hohe Niveau mancher Partien, ihr feiernder hymnischer Charakter, trug dazu bei. Ich will auch gestehen, dass ich das Gefühl hatte, nicht im Gebiet eigentlicher oder gewöhnlicher Prosa mehr zu sein, im Sprachlichen. Wohin die Reise geht, weiss ich nicht. Die alten Versformen scheinen mir unmöglich.⁶¹

The following passage from the novel indicates, moreover, that the stylistic characteristics which prompted Döblin to this statement recall in some ways the style of the earlier Phantasmus:

Die fleischernen blühenden welkenden Menschenwesen lagen über dem südlichen Faltenland Europas. . . Gebirgsmassen Höhenzüge Senken bewegte die Erde unter ihnen und um sie. In Strömen zog das weisse Wasser hin, füllte Seenbecken. Braune und grüne Pflanzengeschöpfe drangen aus dem Boden. Büsche und Wälder bauten sich längs der Donau auf, längs des Dnjepr und Don. Urwälder und Moraste von der atlantischen Küste bis zu den südlichen Pusten. Auf ihnen girrten schluchzten starben Feldblumen Gräser Vögel. Über die Flächen krochen schwammen mit nackten schuppigen beharrten Leibern Tiere, gaben nicht Ruhe um sich zu greifen, aufzunehmen, sich zu entleeren. Bis der Boden, das wandlungssüchtige Wasser, die verzehrende Luft, sie ganz wieder hatte. Die Scharen der Menschen in Ruhe und Tod, in Werben und Brautkämpfen, unter Vulkanausbrüchen und Ertränkungen. Hielten sich aneinander fest, schwanden tränend hin, Schwall über Schwall, Mutter und Kind Mutter und Kind, Geliebter und Geliebte. Und immer sehnsüchtig die Gase der Luft in die Lungenbläschen hinein, an die kleinen Zellen, die Kerne, das weiche Protoplasma, immer angezogen und weiter gegeben. Und wenn die Herzen stillstanden,

die Zellen sich trennten und auflösten, waren sie neue Seelen,
zerfallendes Eiweiss Ammoniak Aminosäuren Kohlensäure und Wasser,
Wasser das sich in Dampf verwandelte.⁶²

The first thing that strikes one in this passage is that trait of Holz's writing which Strohschneider-Kohrs termed its "Verwörtlichungswillen",⁶³ namely, the accumulation of nouns and adjectives aiming at defining as closely as possible the qualities of a particular phenomenon. Thus, man is described in the first sentence as "fleischern", "blühend" and "welkend", adjectives which are designed, presumably, to indicate that he too is just a part of, rather than something distinct from, nature. More common than the series of adjectives and adverbs favoured by Holz, is the proliferation of nouns, which could be seen as an influence of Futurism.⁶⁴ What clearly is reminiscent of Phantasus, however, is the rhythm of Döblin's prose, its abrupt, staccato character reflected in the simple structure of its sentences and the absence, more or less, of subordinate clauses. Such sentences, as an example from the quoted passage shows, could be quite easily adapted to the "Mittelachse" structure and rhythm of Holz's

Phantasus:

Über
die Flächen
krochen schwammen
mit nackten schuppigen beharrten Leibern
Tiere,
gaben nicht Ruhe
um sich zu greifen, aufzunehmen, sich zu entleeren.

Just as Robert Musil could say in a review of Manas that Döblin's poetry was more like "normal prose",⁶⁵ so, perhaps, we could agree with Döblin's own view of Berge, Meere und Giganten that it was "nicht im Gebiet. . . gewöhnlicher Prosa". If it is possible to postulate an "area" where poetry and prose overlap, such that the two are virtually indistinguishable from

each other, then it would seem that it is precisely there that works such as this, and possibly Phantasmus too, must be located.

By the time of Holz's death, however, Döblin's enthusiasm for Phantasmus had changed towards an attitude of critical distance which saw the work as a symptom of the underlying weakness in Holz's position as an author who was writing "mit den Produktionsmitteln der Revolution für das Bürgertum":

Der Vorkämpfer der Eroberung der Natur. . .dreht den Kopf beiseite und sagt 'Phantasmus'. . .Es erfolgt ein sonderbarer Waffenstillstand. In diesen 'Phantasmus' wird die halbe Realität hineingestopft, Historie, Geographie, Literatur, - entfernte Realität, - und dann gewinnt über diese Realität die Kunst, das Kunsthandwerk die Oberhand, in einer ungeheuren Weise. Es liegt geradezu ein dialektischer Prozess vor. Die Sprachtechnik Holzens war geschaffen, um der Eroberung der Natur zu dienen. Jetzt wird eine abgedämpfte, literarische Realität herangezogen, über sie lässt man weggehen und wuchern - diese neue Sprachtechnik, den freisten Rhythmus, den neuen Ton, der für den Naturalismus gefunden war, - und wir haben vor uns, vielleicht, vielleicht, formalen Naturalismus, aber auch l'art pour l'art! Wir sind am Gegenpol.⁶⁶

This quotation is important for two reasons: firstly, although referring to Phantasmus, its point is not directed exclusively at Holz, for, as Leo Kreutzer has suggested,⁶⁷ there was undoubtedly an element of self-criticism on Döblin's part. After all, if, according to Döblin's criteria, Phantasmus is "removed from reality", then is that not equally true of his own early work? More importantly for our immediate purpose, however, Döblin also indicates the other direction in which the relational tendencies of Phantasmus point, even though, now, the term "l'art pour l'art" might seem rather imprecise for a mode of literature whose relationships to Phantasmus, based on the formalist autonomisation of language, are many and substantial.

Given the underlying aim of Holz's "revolutionisation" of poetry - namely, "eine Lyrik, die auf jede Musik durch Worte als Selbstzweck

verzichtet" - it may seem perverse to relate him to a type of writing which would appear to represent the diametrical opposite of that aim. And in view of his comments on Expressionist poetry we can be quite sure that he himself would have regarded it as anything but a compliment. But as this dissertation has shown throughout, the relation between intention and effect in Holz's work is rarely unproblematical. Few critics, I think, would disagree that the basic motivation for Holz's development of language was the drive for ultimate immediacy. There clearly comes a point in Phantasmus, however, where his preoccupation with the means to that end, namely, language, actually obscures, if not negates, that aim; a point, that is, where language ceases to represent reality in any meaningful sense but contains or becomes, so to speak, its own autonomous reality. Käte Hamburger has described this process well in Die Logik der Dichtung:

Die Objekte. . . verschwinden unter den Wörtern, die sich selbständig machen und als Vokalklänge existent, eigenwertig und eigenweltlich bleiben. Die Aussagen in diesem Stück, auf Substantive und Attribute, auf Wörterreihen reduziert, sind aus dem Objektpol weggezogen und zueinander geordnet. Doch wird dadurch nicht dieser verdunkelt. Eben weil der Prozess ein rein sprachlicher, sozusagen sinnhintergrundloser und nur das Verhältnis von zu beschreibendem Ding und beschreibender Sprache das Thema des Textes ist, erhält sich der Objektpol deutlich. Dies widerspricht nicht der Formulierung, dass das Objekt in den Wörtern verschwindet, verwörtlicht wird oder werden soll. Es ist die Absicht dieser lyrischen Aussage, das Objekt in den 'Impressionen', die die Wörter erwecken, widerstehen zu lassen, Impressionen, die als durch den Gegenstand hervorgerufene zu verstehen sind. . . Und so gesehen liegt diese Dingdichtung nahe an der Grenze zur mitteilenden Aussage⁶⁸

Seen from this standpoint it matters relatively little whether Holz's verbal monsters, his "Wortkaskaden",⁶⁹ are understood as a celebration of the power of language or as an attempt to combat its impotence. Moreover, the parallels with contemporary writing in this area are numerous. Arno Schmidt's constitution of the world as language in his radical texts is an obvious example. The polyglot idiolect, in which Holz occasionally

indulges, as in the following passage, has almost become a trademark of Schmidt's writing:

Schwein!

Cochong! Cotschine!

Mallatsch!

Porku!! Pork!

Pick!!

Domutz!! Farken!!

Swinja! Swinsko!

Swin!

Porkatschjo!!! 70

Moreover, even if one preferred, as Tony Phelan does, to view Schmidt's prose as rationalist narrative, in which his almost overriding concern is "with the psychology of the experiencing subject" and in which "consciousness and the dialectical relationship between the exterior and interior world provide both the matter and the form of his fiction",⁷¹ then this need not dissuade us from comparison with Phantasus, for such a description could apply equally well to Holz. Similarly, when one reads in the introduction to the Ultimistischer Almanach, the programme of a neo-Dadaist group, that "der Ultimist arbeitet mit an der Evolution der von Willkür und antiquierten Zufallsnormen beherrschten metrischen und strophischen Gedichtformen zu einer Wortkunst aus immanenter Gesetzlichkeit",⁷² then such a statement sounds suspiciously familiar. These suspicions are confirmed when the acknowledged debt of the "Ultimisten" to tradition is formulated in the following fashion:

ARNO HOLZ

HAT DIE LYRIK

zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts

durch die Anwendung der typographischen Mittelachsenform

in seinem Riesenpoem "Phantasmus"

REVOLUTIONIERT.

Der Ultimismus leitet daraus

den Begriff der "polyphonen Poesie" ab, das heisst:

DIESER SATZ

kann von links nach rechts ("linear")

und gleichermassen von oben nach unten ("polyphon")

gelesen werden, indem man die kurzen Zeilen,

bestehend aus nicht mehr als drei Wörtern

die ohnehin die Mittelachse markieren,

typographisch hervorhebt und optisch

ISOLIERT.

-: dadurch ergibt sich als Skelett des ganzen Gebildes

eine "zweite Stimme", ein "Gedicht im Gedicht",

eine Ahnung dessen, was Novalis

vielleicht als "Poesie der Poesie" vorgeschwebt haben mag;

erst in dieser konzentrierten Gestalt

befriedigt der so sich offenbarende geheime Sinn des Gedichts

DIE ULTIMISTEN

+

ARNO HOLZ

HAT DIE LYRIK

REVOLUTIONIERT

DIESER SATZ

ISOLIERT

DIE ULTIMISTEN

73

Nor should it surprise us that a group of writers of considerably greater eminence, namely, the "Wiener Gruppe", expressly name Holz as the founder of the tradition to which they affiliate themselves.⁷⁴ The dialect poems of Artmann and Achleitner, Max Bense's idea of advertisements as text-material, the sound poems and the technique of "surface translation"⁷⁵ of Ernst Jandl and the structuring of material for visual effect, which is

so characteristic of concrete poetry as a whole: all these, and more, find their anticipation in Holz's Phantasmus. In view of this it is surely hardly coincidental that references to Holz among experimental writers are not uncommon. It is significant, too, that of such references one of the most unequivocal is by Helmut Heissenbüttel, arguably the foremost practitioner of contemporary experimental writing in Germany, whose work and affinities to Holz may in this context be justifiably viewed, therefore, as representative of a whole range of writers associated with the labels, experimental prose and concrete poetry.

"Vater Arno Holz" is the title of an article by Heissenbüttel commemorating the centenary of Holz's birth and it is clear that one of the reasons why he considers Holz of such significance as to merit the title, "Vater der Moderne",⁷⁶ is to be found in their mutual relationship to tradition. To Heissenbüttel the uncritical and epigonic acceptance of conventional form and traditional aesthetic criteria can constitute nothing less than a "Sperrre zwischen Leser und literarischem Werk"⁷⁷ and what Holz sought to effect was, as it were, "eine Demokratisierung der Poesie",⁷⁸ that is to say, the emancipation of poetry from the traditional "hierarchy" of metre, rhyme and verse. To these Heissenbüttel would add one further representative of the "geheimer Leierkasten", namely, the symbol. In an essay written in 1963 he refers to Hegel's definition of the symbol in the Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik as "die Beziehung der Aussenwelt auf das Innere des Bewusstseins", an idea, he maintains, which has dominated poetry since Romanticism but which due to the complexity of language and experience in the twentieth century is no longer adequate for a form of poetry turning its back on subjectivity.⁷⁹ Although Holz does not expressly reject the symbol as such, the effect of his technique of "differentiation" or

"nuancierende(s) Benennen"⁸⁰ is to militate against the symbolic usage of words. Moreover, when he remarks of his poetry that "wenn ich einfach und schlicht. . ." "Meer" sage, so klingt's wie "Meer"; sagt es Heine in seinen Nordseebildern, so klingt's wie "Amphitrite" ",⁸¹ then the implication is that for Holz words are concrete and signify only their "reales Äquivalent".

What unites Heissenbüttel and Holz above all, however, is their relationship to language in that both approach it not as an incontestable given but as something whose power has been eroded by tradition and conventional usage. Thus, just as a contemporary of Holz's could describe Holz's work as constituting a "Reinigung der Kunstmittel",⁸² so Eugen Gomringer can describe the ultimate aim of concrete poetry as "der grosse Reinigungsprozess".⁸³ By the latter is meant the attempt to distil from language those layers of meaning which convention has superimposed upon it so that the resultant residue can serve as the embryo in the genesis of a reformed, meaningful language. This residual "Rumpfsprache" Heissenbüttel describes as follows: "Wenn ich Rumpfsprache sage, dann heisst es, dass ich versuche, die Sprache von dem, was manipulierbar ist, zu reinigen und versuche, auf Grund dieser Rumpfsprache sozusagen eine gereinigte Sprache herzustellen".⁸⁴ This claim of concrete poetry to direct social relevance clearly goes beyond anything that Holz envisaged, but equally clearly his more modest proposition that the revolutionisation of German literature could only follow from the rejuvenation of its language is nevertheless still an a priori assumption for Heissenbüttel. Moreover, if Holz's work was predicated on the realisation of the changed relationship between language and reality, then Heissenbüttel could be said to extend that realisation even further:

Realistisch wäre eine Literatur, die in ihren Modellen den unauflösbaren Zusammenhang zeigte zwischen der faktisch veränderten Welt und der Unmöglichkeit diese Veränderung direkt und unreflektiert zu benennen.⁸⁵

ich versuche nicht mit Sprache Realität oder Vorstellungen zu beschreiben, mit Sprachbildern, Symbolen, Metaphern zu Realität und Vorstellung mich zu verhalten, sondern ich versuche, aus der Sprache herauszuholen, herauszulocken, was als Realitätsspur darin aufbewahrt ist und was erst Realität hier und jetzt heissen kann.⁸⁶

From this follow two ideas that apply equally well to Phantasmus as to concrete poetry: firstly, the recognition that the boundaries of poetry's language are virtually infinite - in this respect Phantasmus could be seen as the embodiment of Max Bense's view that "alle herstellbaren Texte aus Wörtern bestehen, die Wörter eines umfassenden Gesamttextes sind, der also aus allen Wörtern der Sprache besteht"⁸⁷ - and secondly, the proposition that, to use Gomringer's words, poetry is a reality in itself, not a poem about one.⁸⁸ If the term "concrete poetry" refers to anything, then it is to the tendency to emphasise the materiality of language which, as noted earlier, emerges almost willy-nilly in Holz's Phantasmus.

In an article defining the character of concrete poetry Heissenbüttel maintains that it can be considered primarily from two points of view, namely, "Reduktion und die Überschreitung von medialen Begrenzungen"⁸⁹ and to a greater or lesser extent both these tendencies are reflected in Phantasmus. Of the two, however, by far the most important for concrete poetry is that of reduction. Semantically this entails a gross contraction of content while, at the same time, giving birth to new particles of language in the attempt to open up whole new vistas of meaning in the individual word or word-chain. Syntactically, it involves turning away from the dictates of the traditional "subject-object-predicate" scheme in favour of less formalised syntactic patterns. This increases the evocative power of individual words and makes redundant those elements which

have a purely syntactical function and thus convey nothing in themselves. It is significant, therefore, that Heissenbüttel himself identifies a similar effect in Phantasmus, namely, the reduction of words to "Was in quasi atomarer Bedeutungsspeicherung sich in ihnen gesammelt hat."⁹⁰ Although I would argue that words in Phantasmus never quite achieve the complete autonomy that they often do in concrete poetry, it is nevertheless clear that Holz's technique of the rhythmic and visual isolation of words is a significant anticipation of the reduction process, as in the following example from Phantasmus:

Wie,
wie ... wie
war das doch? ... wie ... wie ... wie ... spann sich das?
wie ... wie,
wie? 91

As I indicated earlier, the "Mittelachse" itself has only rarely been imitated by other writers, but the patterns which it generated, provide a clear model for the typography of experimental writing. Thus, in the above example the diamond shape, constructed out of the single word, "wie", marks an obvious anticipation of one of concrete poetry's most common visual devices, the constellation. Gomringer describes it in the following terms:

die einfachste gestaltungsmöglichkeit der auf dem wort beruhenden dichtung; in ihr sind zwei, drei oder mehr, neben oder unter-einandergesetzten worten - es werden nicht zu viele sein - eine gedanklich-stoffliche beziehung gegeben. . . die konstellation ist eine ordnung und zugleich ein spielraum mit festen grössen. . . ein aufbauprinzip der konstellation. . . ist die unmittelbare wiederholung eines wortes. sie bewirkt die beharrung und momentane konzentration und ein plötzliches bewusstwerden der besonderheit einer bestimmten wortmaterie.⁹²

In Heissenbüttel's text, "Sprechwörter", he forms a similar type of constellation but whereas Holz used only the single word, "wie", Heissenbüttel

bases it on a five-word phrase:

wie	die	so		man
			kann	man
	die	so		
wie	die			
	die			man
			kann	
		so		
wie	die			
	die			man
		so		
wie				man
	die		kann	man
			kann	
	die			
wie	die			man
	die		kann	man
		so	kann	man
	die			
wie	die			man
		so		
wie	die			
	die			man
wie		so	kann	
	die		kann	man
		so		
wie		so		

wie die so kann man ⁹³

Another technique of Holz's that is commonly deployed in concrete poetry is the construction of word-chains or word-associations. The following is a typical example from Phantasmus:

überfliessende, überquellende, überflutende
überschwellende
überströmende, überschäumende

überdrängende,
überwallende, überwogende,
überirdische
überparadiesische, überelysische
Liebeslust
Liebeswonne, Liebesseligkeit,
Liebesbeglücktheit, Liebesentrücktheit, Liebesverzücktheit
Liebesversunkenheit, Liebesertrunkenheit 94

This offers an obvious parallel with a text such as "vokabulär" which contains similar progressions based on synonyms and association:

halten freilegen
frei wovon frei
wozu Freigeist
Freischarler Frei-
tod Freiheit Ell-
bogenfreiheit frei-
lich Freiligrath
Freiheit
Gleichheit und
Brüderlichkeit
gleich
gleichgesinnt
gleichgesonnen

gleichgemacht
gleichmachen
gleichrichten
gleichschalten
gleichgültig
gleichwertig
gleichgewichtig
Gleichgewicht etc. 95

Yet another structure frequently used in concrete poetry is the permutation in which words, syllables or word-order are varied from line to line. Holz too comes close to this form when in Die Blechschmiede he constructs

a long sequence in blocks of twenty lines which is in effect a permutation on the words "Worte sind. . ." and which concludes as follows:

Worte prahlen! Worte prunken!
Worte sind die gemeinsten Halunken!
Worte quälen dich bis aufs Blut!
Worte sind die schlimmste Brut!
Worte sind die protzigsten Protzer!
Worte sind die rotzigsten Schmarotzer!
Worte sind Plebs! Worte sind Pöbel!
Worte Mob! Worte Möbel!
Worte sind Gänse, die gackern und schnattern!
Worte sind Fledermäuse, die flattern!
Worte sind kribbelnde, wibbelnde Milben!
Worte sind weiter nichts, als Silben!

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This structure is almost identical to a text such as Heissenbüttel's "die Zukunft des Sozialismus" which is composed of blocks of thirteen lines that are permuted according to a similar principle as in the opening block:

niemand besitzt was
niemand beutet aus
niemand unterdrückt
niemand wird ausgebeutet
niemand wird untergedrückt
niemand gewinnt was
niemand verliert was
niemand ist Herr
niemand ist Sklave
niemand ist Vorgesetzter
niemand ist Untergebener
niemand ist einem was schuldig
niemand tut einem was

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Admittedly the experimentation with language by many contemporary writers is more extreme than even Holz aspired to. Nevertheless, many of the techniques which form the basis of that experimentation, such as reduction,

combination, constellation and permutation, unmistakably find their prefigurement in Holz's work.

The second major characteristic of concrete poetry which Heissenbüttel identified was what he called "die Überschreitung von medialen Begrenzungen", that is to say, the aim of concrete poetry is quite often an intentional break in communication. I have already referred to the fact that at times Phantasmus too is virtually impenetrable and in this respect it is worth noting that for Holz this was by no means an undesirable effect. Thus, he boasts: "Wer das Gesamte mit allen seinen vielhundert Einzelheiten nicht mindestens zwölfmal hat auf sich wirken lassen, wird hinter dieses Gesamte mit seinen vielhundert Einzelheiten nie kommen!"⁹⁸ Similarly, when in a favourite analogy Holz compares his poetic structures to a musical score, adding that he has thus provided only the notes and not their realisation as music,⁹⁹ then clearly he is seeking the active involvement of the reader in the same way as concrete poetry often demands participation in the structuring of the text in that it does not fall within the immediate bounds of intelligibility as accepted by the reader. As far as concrete poetry is concerned, however, the difficulty in comprehension derives mainly from its rejection of conventional syntax. Moreover, this is not meant to be understood merely as a form of word-play, for many such writers consider accepted grammar as a major determinant of the relationship between language and reality, a relationship which, of course, they are attempting to modify. Thus, Heissenbüttel, for example, submits that our interpretation of reality is pre-determined by the basic structure of our language, namely, the syntactical model of subject-object-predicate:

Dieses Grundmodell besagt, dass die sprachliche Auseinandersetzung mit der Welt unter der Voraussetzung geschieht, dass es immer etwas gibt, auf das sich alles bezieht und etwas anderes, das diesem

Bezugspunkt gegenübersteht, beides aber in Form von Aktions- und Verhaltensweisen miteinander verbunden ist.¹⁰⁰

Accordingly concrete poetry tends either to loosen the conventions of grammar - one common example being the elimination of the finite verb and the predominance of infinitives - or to obliterate syntactical relationships altogether so as to heighten the autonomy of the individual words.

Holz's theoretical writings contain no such critical analysis of the effect of syntax. Indeed, the only occasion where he refers to it at all is his defence of syntactical logic against the linguistic attacks perpetrated upon it by the Expressionists. This had led certain observers to the conclusion that Holz operated quite consistently within the framework of conventional grammar; as Fauteck glibly puts it, "seine Syntax war intakt, weil die Wirklichkeit für ihn noch intakt war."¹⁰¹ To see the issue purely in absolute terms of rejection or acceptance of traditional syntax, however, is in my view somewhat misleading since it gives no indication of the way in which Holz, in his literary practice, as opposed to his theory, was concerned to modify or extend accepted grammatical possibilities. That is to say, in Phantasmus Holz achieves less the grammatical liberation of the word that concrete poetry seeks than a general blurring of syntactical contours. There are basically two things which create this impression. Firstly, the effect of many of the linguistic innovations discussed so far is to dilute the consistency of the syntactical base. To take one example: the technique of content-compression in word-combinations such as "wenn der Dampfer radschaukelt", or "augenweitaufgerissen",¹⁰² which are really abbreviations for, respectively, "wenn das Rad des Dampfers schaukelt" and "seine Augen sind weit aufgerissen", may not pose too many semantic problems, at least in these examples, but

it does nevertheless engender a certain grammatical opacity. Moreover, when the process is extended in such a manner as to produce verbal monsters like the aforementioned "Baumriesenwipfelblütengigantenschmetterlinge", then the result quite clearly contravenes any meaningful notion of grammatical norms. Indeed, this very technique is used in concrete poetry as in Heissenbüttel's text, "Bremen wodu", which is based solely on this principle and which ends as follows:

obihrdasdagetanhabtmeinich
 obwirdasdagetanhabenmeinstdu
 obihrdasallezusammengetanhabtmeinich
 obwirdasallezusammengetanhabenmeinstdu
 obihrdasallezusammeninBremengetanhabt
 weisstdu denn nicht
 was weiss ich nicht
 dass wirdasda
 dass iherdasdagetanhabt
 jadass wirdassallezusammengetanhaben
 allezusammen
 jadahaben wirdasallezusammengetan
 inBremen
 jadahaben wirdasallezusammeninBremengetan
 und dass okurz vorWeihnachten

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The example quoted from Phantasia of "radschaukelt" also illustrates the second and more important way in which Holz erodes syntactical logic. In the "Nachlass" version the basis of the sentence is: "Unter mir. . . radschaukelt sich der Dampfer querschrag. . . über die. . . Havel." However, this is merely the skeleton of the sentence, for the dots here in fact represent its expansion by means of synonym-extension and adjectival and adverbial qualification to a length of some seventeen pages. Similarly, Holz's coveted "longest sentence of all time", in "Das Tausendundzweite

Märchen", although nominally retaining the "subject-predicate-object" scheme, only comes to the "pivot" of the sentence, a one-syllable verb, on the final page of its seven hundred and forty-three lines!¹⁰⁴ That is to say, in Phantasmus the logic of grammar is observed - and in the first Phantasmus in more or less transparent manner - but the sheer accumulation of linguistic elements in the later versions dissolves, if not at times totally collapses, any real sense of syntactical relationship between those elements. Indeed, it is this which has led Schmidt-Henkel to speak, possibly in terms more appropriate to the practitioners of concrete poetry, of Holz's "pervertiertes Syntaxverständnis." In fact, however, it is one of the most successful representatives of German experimental writing, Jürgen Becker, who, in my opinion, has best described Holz's relationship to conventional syntax:

Hier wirkte in Holzens Verfahren ein besonderer Widerspruch. So streng er seine Satzgerüste baute, so chaotisch gerieten sie. Was er ins Schema quetschte, arbeitete an seiner Zerstörung. Nicht umsonst. Nicht ohne Grund. Holz. . .haderte mit dem Subjekt-Objekt-Schema des Satzbaus: seine Imaginationen, seine Phantasie, sein Erlebnis der Realität ging über die Nutzungsmöglichkeiten dieses Schemas hinaus. Denn es bedeutet einen vorgegebenen Modus der Erfahrung und des Ausdrucks; es verhindert eine spontane Sprechweise; es unterschlägt der Sprache, was ihr zu vermitteln es vorgibt. Holz gab diesem Schema recht und wendete es loyal an; aber indem er dies tat, indem er seine Möglichkeit bis zum Exzess ausnutzte, machte er es zum Labyrinth, oder zur Farce. Nicht der Satzkünstler, sondern der Saboteur konstruierte Sätze seitenweise.¹⁰⁶

Heissenbüttel's relationship to syntax, however, is clearly less ambiguous. And if its rejection in his work is one form of "die Überschreitung von medialen Begrenzungen", then there is another technique which contributes nearly as much to this effect and which I have already referred to as constituting an important element in Holz's writing also, namely, the collage. Montage and collage play an important role in concrete poetry in general, but in respect to Heissenbüttel's work there

is one variation which is of particular importance since it establishes a further point of contact with Holz. I refer to the quotation-collage. The role of quotation, in fact, is crucial for any attempt to come to terms with Heissenbüttel's conception of literature as his joint reflections with Heinrich Vormweg on the subject make clear:

Realistisch wäre eine Literatur, die Welt und Sachen im abgelösten Sprachzitat zu verdoppeln suchte und in dieser Verdoppelung zeigte, dass wir nicht sinngebend und ordnend in die Welt einzudringen vermögen, es sei denn im Sinne der spezialwissenschaftlichen Statistik oder Fotografie. . . Nur indem wir den im Wort gespeicherten Sachbezug zitieren, vermögen wir uns dem zu nähern, was man ausserhalb der Sprache Welt nennen könnte.¹⁰⁸

Consequently, the material for many of Heissenbüttel's later texts is composed of quotation, but the work which most spectacularly translates this aim into literary practice is his "novel", D'Alemberts Ende, which consists almost in its entirety of extended quotation-collage. A good example of this method is the episode entitled "Zweites Kunstgespräch"¹⁰⁹ in which the "characters" function solely as the mouthpieces of figures such as Marx, Benjamin, Marcuse, Warhol etc. In his study of this subject, entitled Cross-Reading und Cross-Talking, which, incidentally, locates Holz as one of the earliest exponents of the quotation-collage, Karl Riha describes Die Blechschmiede as a vast mosaic of quotations¹¹⁰ and, indeed, Holz's own description of the work's genesis indicates how closely his method of composition resembles Heissenbüttel's in D'Alemberts Ende:

Die Form, auf die ich gerade bei dieser Arbeit eine besondere Bedeutung lege, wird eine höchst eigentümliche werden. . . ich beabsichtigte mit ihr ein riesiges Mosaik. . . Um das Werk, wie es mir vorschwebt, niederzuschreiben, werde ich die kolossale Mühe nicht scheuen dürfen, die gesamte einschlägige Literatur der letzten zehn, fünfzehn Jahre bis heute auf die neuesten Erscheinungen nochmal durchzugehen, und zwar gründlich bis auf eine Legion von Exzerpten. Denn es ist mein Ehrgeiz, in dieses Buch möglichst dokumentar, möglichst die ganze Verschrobenheit

eines ganzen Zeitalters zu sperren.¹¹²

However, we have no need of recourse to Holz's other work to illustrate his use of this technique, for the episode in Phantasmus called "Grosser Dichtermittwochnachmittag in meiner Feuerstuhlbude" contains a similar mosaic in miniature as quotation upon quotation is wrenched from its literary context only to finish on a somewhat familiar note:

"Kreusa, Schatzkind,
Rabenvieh!" "Auch dies, auch dies ist Popelsie!"
"Greift kühn dem Zeitrad in die
Nabe!"
"Tod
dem Getue, dem
Gehabe!" "Zu Brei, zu Mus matscht jeden Greis am Stabe!"
"Nichts von Verträgen, nichts von
Übergabe!"
"Umbläfft von Schimpf, umkläfft von
Blague", "von nun ab bis zum jüngsten Tage"
"Sein oder Nichtsein, das ist hier die
Frage!" "Verzage
nicht,
du Häuflein
klein!" "In neue Schläuche neuen Wein!"
"Kommen Se
rein, kommen Se rein, kommen Se rein,
kommen Se
rein!"
"Die Kunst hat die Tendenz, die Natur zu
sein!"

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In the same way as it is possible to attribute a satirical function to the section referred to in D'Alemberts Ende, namely, that of highlighting the way in which intellectual cut and thrust can within the context of the "Kultur=industrie" so easily degenerate into a process, whereby the participants merely go through the motions of debate and name-dropping replaces any real exchange

of ideas, so too this passage from Phantasmus could be seen as an extended literary joke at the expense of the very tradition from which Holz sought to break away. But if, as Schulz does, one sees Holz's use of quotation in general as "nicht immer nur literarisches Zitat, sondern die für Holz unwiderstehliche Reproduktion einmal irgendwo Gelesenen oder Gehörten"¹¹⁴, then clearly it must be considered primarily as a formal technique whose significance transcends any immediate satirical purpose and which, as such, fulfils a function similar to that of the quotation-collage in Heissenbüttel's work.

Heissenbüttel's overall relationship to Holz could be described as that of the critical and discriminating admirer, as he himself acknowledges: "Arno Holz kann für den, der richtig sucht, eine Fundgrube sein. Man muss in seinem Werk graben wie in einem Steinbruch."¹¹⁵ Textual comparison indicates, moreover, that Heissenbüttel, to use his phrase, has searched in the right places, that is to say, his work clearly develops and refines certain techniques and principles that were initiated in Phantasmus. This does not mean however, that he was without criticisms of the work: ". .im "Phantasmus" - Zyklus zeigt sich, dass die Zerteilung und Häufung von Wortmaterial in sich selber steckenbleibt. Das geschieht, weil Holz gegen alle Möglichkeiten, sein Material aus sich sinnvoll zu organisieren blind bleibt."¹¹⁶ Heissenbüttel's criticism of Phantasmus is significant because it alludes to the major difference between his work and that of Holz, a difference, moreover, whose origins must be located in a fundamental epistemological divergence. Once again it is Käte Hamburger who identifies the source of this divergence, when she discusses the role of subjectivity in experimental poetry:

Wird aber das lyrische Ich nicht bloss als "Subjekt" in dem personenhaften Sinne dieses Begriffes, sondern als Aussagesubjekt fixiert,

so wird gerade dadurch. . .der Begriff der Subjektivität aus der Theorie der Lyrik eliminiert, und es wird möglich, auch die modernsten Formen und Theorien der Lyrik, wie etwa Text und Texttheorie, unter ihren Gattungsbegriff zu fassen.¹¹⁷

Thus, in Heissenbüttel's texts when we encounter an "Ich" at all, then it is as a consciousness that no longer relates to an unfettered, all embracing subjectivity and which acknowledges the ultimate relativity of all responses. Subjectivity, which formerly was conducive to "eine Dichtung des persönlichen und hedonistischen Ausdrucks",¹¹⁸ is redefined and thus emanates from an "Ich" whose status is reduced purely to that of "Aussagesubjekt." Bearing in mind the virtual solipsism of Phantasus, it is clear that Heissenbüttel actually reverses the subject-object relationship that obtains in Holz's poetry. Indeed, Walter Hinderer could be describing this very polarity when he says of Heissenbüttel: "Doch nicht das literarische Objekt soll hier im Subjekt aufgelöst werden, sondern umgekehrt das Subjekt im Objekt."¹¹⁹

The other significant difference between Holz and Heissenbüttel is less easy to define but basically it concerns their relationship to language. The following quotation - which is, in fact, part of a review of Jürgen Becker's Ränder - illustrates the nature of this difference:

His (i.e. Becker's) difficulties of communication do not really stem from those of language but from the fact that he challenges language to do things which are contrary to its nature. . .Time and time again one finds that the writer who rebels ostensibly against the clichés of language rebels in fact against language itself and thus leaves himself no way out except silence.¹²⁰

If we interpret the term "silence" in a broad sense to mean rejection of conventional language, then clearly both parts of this statement apply to Heissenbüttel as well as to Becker and many others. However, much though Holz may have at times challenged language to do things contrary to its nature, it is surely inconceivable that Phantasus represents, in

however broad a sense, a literary "silence". Thus, when Becker in turn says of Holz "nicht der Artist jonglierte sondern der Sprachlose zahlte heim dem System, das seine Sprachlosigkeit verwaltet",¹²¹ then this statement arguably applies more to Becker himself or writers such as Heissenbüttel than to Arno Holz. For, in truth, Holz's attitude to language is not as straightforward as Becker would have it; it is much more ambivalent, contradictory even. Nor should this really surprise us given that Holz was writing prior to the development of any real science or philosophy of language from which later writers such as Heissenbüttel have so clearly drawn so much of their understanding of language. In this respect Heinrich Vormweg provides a useful framework within which to locate Holz when, in the course of analysing the widespread questioning of language in the sixties, he makes the distinction between the preoccupation with language in modern writing and that of the Baroque period:

Der Unterschied zwischen der Prosa des frühbarocken Autors und den modernen Texten. . . scheint ein Unterschied der Vitalität und Selbstsicherheit zu sein. Fischart überlässt sich mit spontaner Lust den Wörtern. . . als fasse er mit ihnen lauter Sachen, Dinge. . . Die neuen Texte haben dafür, . . . meist etwas Zauderndes, Bewusstes, analytisch Grübelndes, Experimentelles.¹²²

The curious thing about Holz, it would seem to me, is that he occupies a middle position between these two poles in that his work embraces both tendencies. It both conveys and derives from a delicate balance between doubt and confidence, between the celebration of the power of language, on the one hand, and the denial of its efficacy, on the other. For whereas Holz's reflections were prompted by the recognition of the inherently epigonic nature of a literature that evinced an uncritical acceptance of language, he still saw as primary the relationship between words and their "reales Äquivalent", even though he further recognised that the mediation of that relationship in literature was becoming increasingly

problematical. Not for nothing does Holz write at one point in Phantasmus:

In
dampfem Zimmer
gebückt zwischen Büchern
Tage,
Wochen, Monate
lang,
sass ich, sann
ich ... und ... schrieb!
, die mich, qualvoll, einst geschmerzt, Dinge, die mich, freudig, einst bewegt, Dinge
von vor tausend Jahren, Dinge, die noch niemals waren,
Dinge
Dinge, Dinge
Dinge!

Das
dumpfe,
karge, einsam enge
Zimmer,
der Stuhl, der Tisch, der
gelbe Lampenkreis ... die ... bleichtoten Bücher
ein
Meer, ein ... Wust ... ein Berg
Papier,
Papier, Papier
und
"Dinge"... "Dinge"... "Dinge",
"Dinge"!! 123

Moreover, the manner in which Holz straddles the two co-ordinates of
Vormweg's comparison becomes even more evident when he pursues the dis-
tinction in respect of the way that words are used in modern writing:
"(Worte) dienen. . . offensichtlich nicht dazu, Gedanken, Erlebnisse,
Empfindungen, innere Zustände des Autors zu transportieren, sondern es

ist ihnen Eigenkraft, Eigenwelt zugeschrieben. Sie dienen nicht, sie haben Autonomie"¹²⁴ While this is undoubtedly the case with writers such as Heissenbüttel, the fact remains that it is not so with Holz. That is to say, in Phantasmus words are intended in the first instance to convey subjective experience and yet, as we have seen, they do at times also acquire willy-nilly a degree of autonomy. Indeed, Jürgen Becker expresses this paradox when defining the contemporary significance of Phantasmus:

Als der durchgeführte Versuch einer Komposition, die Sprache autonom macht und zugleich den fortwährend wechselnden Erfahrungs-komplexen anmisst, leitet der "Phantasmus" eine Tendenz der zeit-genössischen Literatur ein.¹²⁵

This description applies equally well to Becker's own work, a fact which is significant, I think, because it helps explain a certain lack of differentiation in the above statement. For where Becker is wrong, in my opinion, is that he conflates the two separate strands he identifies in Phantasmus into the one tendency in contemporary literature; whereas, in fact, there too they often retain a separate identity. Thus, the paradox remains that although Becker's work, for example, shares the two tendencies of Phantasmus, textual analysis reveals that a relationship of substantial identity exists not with Becker but with concrete poetry, in particular with the work of Heissenbüttel, which evinces only the one tendency. That is to say, the real relationship which Phantasmus suggests is one with the literary autonomisation of language. Nevertheless, as I shall argue in my final chapter, Becker is undoubtedly right to point to Holz's literary mediation of subjectivity as a crucial reason for his subsequent resonance in modern literature. Where he is wrong is to identify Phantasmus as the sole or even the most important realisation of the subjectivist mode.

C O N C L U S I O N

CONCLUSION

In a moment of uncharacteristically accurate self-assessment Holz once said of himself: "ich litt noch nie an Selbstunterschätzung".¹ Indeed, one indication of the degree of Holz's self-centredness is provided by his apparent inability to appreciate any writer other than himself, for his extensive theoretical writings and letters contain only one serious attempt to examine the work of another author, namely, his essay on Zola. Moreover, even this served only as the springboard for his own ideas. The overriding impression created by the endless polemics and acrimonious disputes with erstwhile collaborators and contemporaries is of a man so utterly convinced as to the uniqueness of his literary achievements as to deny totally any contribution that others may have made to his artistic development. One can hardly wonder, then, that the relationship between Holz and the critics was anything but an easy one. Indeed, it is external factors such as this - and, in particular, Holz's social and economic circumstances - which, Helmut Scheuer argues in his biographical study, help to explain Holz's relative lack of success.²

More relevant for the purposes of this dissertation, however, are the possible reasons for the revival of interest in Holz. If we assume that the publication of Holz's work in the sixties was either the catalyst for or the symptom of this revival rather than its direct cause, then we must account for it by identifying in general terms what were the particularly "modern" aspects of his work, by defining, that is to say, in what way Holz was, to use his own expression, "ahead of his time." The key to this problem can, I believe, be found in Holz's theoretical writings, even though this need in no sense commit us to Holz's own assertion that "es ist bei einem Künstler von vorneherein das Zeichen einer gewissen Inferiorität,

wenn er sich mit Gedanken über seine Kunst nicht abgibt."³ Admittedly, it is true that Holz's theory is at times banal, diffuse, ambiguous and, above all, unnecessarily polemical. Nevertheless, it is also the case that most major reassessments of his work have begun by examining the main propositions of his aesthetic theory. Moreover, even if, as Pascal believes, such analyses have in the process possibly attributed to Holz's writings a subtlety and complexity which they do not in reality possess,⁴ then nevertheless their value must be located in the fact that Holz succeeded in theorising, however inadequately, certain major problems that have also confronted later writers.

The first of these is Holz's persistent concern with form, for above all it was his recognition that older forms could not resolve all the problems of his time that identifies him potentially as a radically modern writer. It is not totally coincidental, therefore, that it is in the sixties, i.e. at a time when traditional assumptions about literature were increasingly being called into account and when new alternatives, particularly in respect to form, were continually being sought, that a proper appreciation of Holz's work begins to emerge. It is perhaps no coincidence either that it is in the sixties also that we find the first real acknowledgment in Germany of another - and, it must be said, much more important - theoretician, Walter Benjamin, for his work is similarly underpinned by the view that radical formal change is the essential prerequisite for the transformation or "revolutionisation" of the work of art as such. After all, it was Holz who wrote that "man revolutioniert eine Kunst also nur, indem man ihre Mittel revolutioniert",⁵ but such a formulation could belong just as easily to Benjamin's pioneering essay, "Der Autor als Produzent", which exercised such a considerable influence over many German writers in

in the sixties. One such writer is Helmut Heissenbüttel who, when discussing the historical location of the emergence of a significant formal awareness, provides a further perspective on Holz's claim to modern relevance:

Für die Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts besitzt die Kategorie des Inhaltlichen eine wesentliche Bedeutung. Inhalt als etwas Ablösbares, etwas Erzählbares. Literatur im 19. Jahrhundert hat den Aspekt: Inhalt, in eine Form gegossen. Form erscheint als etwas Gegebenes, als etwas Überliefertes. . . Für die Literatur im 19. Jahrhundert gilt wesentlich die Zweiteilung in Form und Inhalt, Stil und Gehalt usw. Diese Zweiteilung ist eine Eigenschaft der Literatur im 19. Jahrhundert.

In der Opposition gegen diese Zweiteilung lässt sich ein Ansatzpunkt für die Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts erkennen. Die Opposition ist aggressiv. Sie reduziert den Inhalt und löst die Form in ihren traditionellen Erscheinungsweisen auf. Sie ist getragen von der Intention einer neuen Sprechmöglichkeit. Diese neue Sprechmöglichkeit wird gesehen in der Rückführung und Rückbesinnung der Sprache auf sich selbst. In dieser Rückbesinnung wird die Frage nach Form und Inhalt gegenstandslos.⁶

Holz's development would appear to encapsulate the transition which Heissenbüttel suggests. For, as we have seen, the lesson Holz drew from the content-orientation of Buch der Zeit was the recognition of the primacy of form, as reflected, for example, in his view "dass der Naturalismus eine Methode ist, eine Darstellungsart und nicht etwa "Stoffwahl""⁷ while the prefigurement of Heissenbüttel's "Rückführung der Sprache auf sich selbst" can, as was suggested in the previous chapter, be clearly found in the autonomisation of language in Phantasus. From this point of view, therefore, it would appear that the most grandiose of Holz's claims, namely, that his work constituted a landmark between two epochs, is not without a certain validity.

Holz's work bridges the two centuries in another way, however, and that is in the literary expression it gives to the previously almost unexplored realm of subjectivity. That is to say, it marks not only the

recognition of the changed nature of the reality that confronted writers at the end of the nineteenth century, but also the realisation of the necessity for the literary representation of that reality to change accordingly. It thus stands at the beginning of the development of a literary mode, which increasingly came to reject the nineteenth century realist tradition's emphasis on the external and the objective in favour of an internalised perspective that redefines reality as the inner and the subjective. In Holz's theory the clearest prescription of such an internalised view of reality is represented by the following crucial proposition:

Ich gestalte und forme die 'Welt', sagte ich mir, wenn es mir gelingt, den Abglanz zu spiegeln, den sie mir in die 'Seele' geworfen. Und je reicher, je mannigfaltiger, je vielfarbiger ich das tue, um so treuer, um so tiefer, um so machtvoller wird mein Werk.⁸

In his creative writing this assumed two forms: the subjectivist prose-works provide a poly-perspectival representation of reality that increasingly threatens the view of a single, secure and unchallengeable reality, while Phantasmus, with its absorption of the external world into the experience of a single imagination, effectively dissolves the distinction between the subject and object. This intensification of the subjectivised perspective is certainly one major aspect of the way German literature has developed in the twentieth century. Moreover, one need only consider the views of a writer such as Jürgen Becker to appreciate the relevance of Holz to that development, for he, more clearly than any other writer, stresses the mediation of experience as the key to a portrayal of reality:

ich möchte die Dinge authentisch haben, wie ich sie erlebt habe-d.h. nicht nur konkret auf der Strasse, sondern wie ich sie durchs Denken erlebt habe, wie ich sie in der Phantasie erlebt habe, so möchte ich sie eigentlich genau rekapitulieren in der Sprache.⁹

Similarly, Becker gives the following description of one of his own texts:

Dieser Text demonstriert nur die Bewegungen eines Bewusstseins durch die Wirklichkeit und deren Verwandlung in Sprache. Bewusstsein: das ist meines in seinen Schichten, Brüchen und Verstörungen; Wirklichkeit: das ist die tägliche, vergangene, imaginierte. Sie lesen nur Mitteilungen aus meinem Erfahrungsbereich.¹⁰

Reality for Becker, therefore, is not just inner reality as such but his own experience, "Mitteilungen aus meinem Erfahrungsbereich." If we bear in mind Becker's description of Holz's Phantasmus as "sein Versuch, die totale Realität und ihre Erscheinungsweise im dichtenden Bewusstsein sprachlich zu demonstrieren" in which reality is transformed into "einen sprachlichen Kosmos, der das Bewusstsein dessen, der da redete, genau reflektierte",¹¹ then it is clear that Becker marks the summation of a subjectivist tradition in German literature whose origins he himself locates in the work of Arno Holz.

In conclusion, it remains only to summarise in what particular forms those two general tendencies of Holz's work can be translated into concrete literary relationships. Earlier I suggested a distinction between three types of relationship and surveying the literary criticism on Holz one cannot escape the conclusion that the type most commonly suggested - although not explicitly categorised as such - is the parallel. Admittedly, the diversity of Holz's work allows for an almost infinite number of possible parallels, but some of the writers who have been proposed in this connection - Wyndham Lewis, Pinter, Kafka,¹² to name but three - stretch even this flexible category beyond its limits. For the sake of clarity, therefore, I would give just one textual example to illustrate the type of relationship that I understood by the term:

oliven,
azuren, orangen, lasuren,
königsblau, bischofsblau, himmelblau, fliederblau, enzianblau, veilchenblau,

kornblumenblau, vergissmeinnichtblau,
 mondblau, nachtblau,
 ultramarin,
 meergrün, glasgrün, apfelgrün, blassgrün, resedagrün,
 grassgrün,
 vitriolgrün, lauchgrün, eidechsgrün,
 hauchgrün,
 kaffeebraun, zimmetbraun, tabackbraun, bronzebraun,
 rostbraun,
 kastanienbraun,
 maulwurfsgrau, eselsgrau, schiefergrau,
 aschgrau, bleigrau,
 beinschwarz,
 lilienweiss, silberweiss
 goldgleiss

13

The following passage from Günter Grass's Hundejahre offers an interesting comparison with these lines from Phantasus:

Diesmal waren es nicht nur SA-Uniformen. Auch das Zeug einiger simpler Parteigenossen fand sich darunter. Aber alles war braun; nicht das Braun sommerlicher Halbschuhe; kein Nüsschenbraun Hexenbraun; kein braunes Afrika; keine geriebene Borke, Möbel nicht, altersbraun; kein mittelbraun sandbraun; weder junge Braunkohle noch alter Torf, mit Torfspaten gestochen; kein Frühstücksschokolade, kein Morgenkaffee, den Sahne erhöht; Tabak, so viele Sorten, doch keine so bräunlich wie; weder das augentrügerische Rehbraun noch das Niveaubraun zweier Wochen Urlaub; kein Herbst spuckte auf die Palette, als dieses Braun; Kackbraun, allenfalls Lehmtraun, aufgeweicht, kleistrig, als das Parteibraun, SA-Braun, Braun aller Braunbücher, Braunen Häuser, Braunauer Braun, Evabraun als dieses Uniformbraun, weit entfernt vom Khakibraun, Braun aus tausend pickligen Ärschen auf weisse Teller geschissen, Braun aus Erbsen und Brühwurst gewonnen, nein nein, ihr sanften Brunetten, hexenbraun nüsschenbraun, standet nicht Pate, als dieses Braun gekocht, geboren und eingefärbt, als dieses Dunghaufenbraun-ich schmeichle noch immer - vor Eddi Amsel lag.¹⁴

The surface similarities between these two passages are immediately evident, particularly in respect of their general playing with and permutation of words, such as to allow one to speak of a certain stylistic resemblance between some elements of Grass's writing and Holz's poetry. However, even at the level of these two extracts, clear differences are also discernible. In Holz's passage, which initially seeks to evoke the visual beauty of various species of birds, the sheer magnitude of his catalogue of colours (fifty-nine different shades in all) renders almost impossible any conceptualisation of the phenomena by

the reader, with the result that ultimately the value of the words does not extend beyond their individual acoustic and rhythmic qualities. With Grass, on the other hand, even if one were to abstract the passage from its overall context, one would still derive from it a strong sense of the critique of Nazism which, amongst other things, informs the novel as a whole. Although, paradoxically, certain of Grass's statements on the relation between form and content are more extreme than those of Holz,¹⁵ the fact nevertheless remains that his work is rarely legitimated by linguistic vigour alone. In other words, a comparison between Grass and Holz would reveal certain limited stylistic similarities but no substantial point of intersection¹⁶ and it is in this sense, therefore, that I would wish to designate such a case as a parallel.

The second category I identified was what I termed a tendential relationship and the clearest example of this would seem to me to be Holz's relationship to Expressionism. Buch der Zeit prefigures from the viewpoint of content the Expressionists' concern with the metropolis, but it is only with that generation that the theme becomes central in a way that profoundly influences form. Paradoxically, in the case of Holz's later poetry the converse is true. Holz's "revolutionisation" of poetry provided the formal basis which certain Expressionist poets such as August Stramm and Herwath Walden were able to develop, but the intensity of the ideas which they sought to express was such as to extend their poetry on to a level qualitatively different from that which Holz achieved in Phantasmus.

As with the parallel numerous other tendential relationships can be suggested with Holz's work, but in my opinion the type which indicates most clearly his significance for modern German literature is that which I have described as a relationship of substantial identity. This is particularly the case since, in general, such relationships go beyond the

level of comparison with an individual writer and point rather to specific modes of writing that have developed in the twentieth century. This dissertation has identified three such tendencies which, generally speaking, could be called the objectivist, the subjectivist and the formalist modes. In an essay characterising the development of German literature since the inception of capitalist industrialisation, Michael Scharang has argued that the effect of the social developments attendant on it was to deprive literature of its traditional narrative basis, thus leaving the writer, broadly speaking, with two possible approaches. The first alternative Scharang describes as follows:

Legt der Autor. . . Wert darauf, reale Verhältnisse, die schwer durchschaubar sind, von denen der Allgemeinheit ein falsches Bild gemacht wird oder die überhaupt der allgemeinen Erfahrung durch Manipulation vorenthalten werden, der allgemeinen Erfahrung zuzuführen, gleichgültig ob diese Arbeit den Charakter von Kunst hat oder nicht, so wird sich seine Methode einerseits aus der Struktur jener Verhältnisse ergeben, die er darstellen will, andererseits aus seiner Absicht, sie erfahrbar zu machen. Ein solcher Autor will etwas zeigen, etwas dokumentieren. Da er das sprachlich tut, wird er nach sprachlichem Material suchen, das in möglichst unmittelbarer Beziehung zu bestimmten realen Verhältnissen steht, und dieses dokumentieren.¹⁷
(my italics)

In locating the historical origins of the documentary mode in Naturalism, i.e. at the onset of industrialisation in Germany, and in defining its primary characteristic as a linguistic method which aims for the most immediate reproduction of reality possible, Scharang alludes to the relationship between reportage and the objectivist tendency of Holz's prose-writing which, I would suggest, is the first of the three significant modes of writing in Holz's work. The second is represented by the other choice which, according to Scharang, faces the modern author:

Legt er Wert darauf, etwas zu machen, das deutlich den Charakter von Kunst hat, . . . so wird seine Frage nach der Methode immer eine Frage nach der Sprach-Methode sein. Der Autor wird die Sprache, die

ein Mittel seiner Arbeit ist, verabsolutieren und zum Zweck seiner Arbeit erklären. Er wird dem Funktionieren der Sprache nachgehen, seine Einsicht in dieses Funktionieren zur Methode erheben.¹⁸

This concern with language for its own sake corresponds to the formalist tendency in Holz's late poetry, which prefigures the contemporary experimental prose-writing and concrete poetry of such figures as Heissenbüttel, Mon, Ror Wolf and members of the Wiener Gruppe. Holz's work can thus be seen to embrace both the alternatives that, according to Scharang, exist for the modern writer. And yet, Holz's work itself reveals that Scharang's framework is too narrow, for it ignores the subjectivist tradition which includes, amongst others, Alfred Döblin, Jürgen Becker, and the New Realism of Dieter Wellershoff and the Kölner Schule, and which, analysis has shown, finds such excellent prefigurement in Holz's subjectivist writing. As mentioned earlier, recent criticism has tended to focus on Phantasmus as the major source of Holz's contemporary relevance but, in my opinion, it is his contribution to this tradition, in the shape of the subjectivist style of consequential Naturalism, which marks his greatest significance for modern German literature. Indeed, looking at Holz's career as a whole, one is left with the slightly sad thought that had he devoted but a fraction of the time he spent on Phantasmus to the further development of his prose-writing, he might well have joined the ranks of Germany's major modern novelists and thus achieved the elusive success which he so clearly sought throughout his artistic life.

F O O T N O T E S

The following abbreviations will be used to refer to the two editions of Holz's work:

DW = Das Werk, ed. Hans W. Fischer, Berlin, 1924-5, 10 Volumes.
W = Werke, ed. Wilhelm Emrich and Anita Holz, Neuwied, 1961-4, 7 Volumes.

INTRODUCTION

1. DW X, p.I.
2. cf. "Ich schätze das, was ich für die Entwicklung unserer deutschen Literatur bisher geleistet, für wichtiger, als jede andre Einzelleistung eines betreffenden Zeitgenossen. . ." Briefe. Eine Auswahl, ed. Anita Holz and Max Wagner, Munich, 1948, p.137.
3. *ibid.*, p.211.
4. cf. "ich litt noch nie an Selbstunterschätzung", DW X, p.533.
5. W VII, p.453, (published originally in Protest und Verheissung, Frankfurt a.M., 1960, pp.155-168, here, p.155.)
6. *ibid.*, p.471. (Protest und Verheissung, p.168.)
7. This is true of nearly all the recent studies of Holz to which I will refer in the course of this dissertation.
8. "An Interview with Pierre Macherey", Red Letters No.5, London, 1977, p.3.
9. DW X, p.534.
10. cf. "Denn Parallele bedeutet im genauen Sinn ihres Begriffs, dass nicht die geringste Berührung der beiden Erscheinungen vorliegt, . . .", Käte Hamburger, Philosophie der Dichter, Stuttgart, 1966, p.180f.
11. The group consisted of Paul Ernst, Rolf Wolfgang Martens, Reinhard Piper, Robert Röss and Georg Stolzenberg. It was responsible for various volumes, imitating Holz's "Mittelachse" poetry, from the Sassenbach Verlag which published the original Phantasus volumes, hence the name.

CHAPTER I (i)

1. Ursula Münchow, Deutscher Naturalismus, Berlin, 1968, p.31.

2. It may be as well to try and clarify the relationship between working-class and socialist literature as it may otherwise appear that I use the terms interchangeably and without differentiation. This is not the place to discuss at length the possible meaning of the term "working-class literature" but, in short, I would argue that it must be seen as one component within the broader category of "socialist literature". That is to say, I do not believe that the ultimate determinant of working-class literature is, as is commonly assumed, the author's social origin or the literary content of the work but rather the specific function ascribed to and fulfilled by the literature in question within a particular historical context. (For elaboration of this argument cf. Florian Vassen "Über die Brauchbarkeit des Begriffs 'Arbeiterdichtung'" in: Arbeiterdichtung. Analysen-Bekenntnisse-Dokumentationen, Wuppertal, 1973, pp.117-131.) For this reason I would argue that Buch der Zeit can be seen as a significant contribution not only to the tradition of a socialist literature as a whole in Germany but also to the development of working-class literature in particular.
3. cf. Jost Hermand, Der Schein des schönen Lebens, Frankfurt, 1972, p.32.
4. *ibid.*, p.37.
5. Moderne Dichter-Charaktere, ed. Wilhelm Arent, Berlin, 1885.
6. DW I, p.7 and p.9.
7. *ibid.*, p.55.
8. *ibid.*, p.16.
9. *ibid.*, p.19.
10. *ibid.*, p.28.
11. *ibid.*, p.28.
12. *ibid.*, p.77.
13. *ibid.*, p.78.
14. *ibid.*, p.78.
15. *ibid.*, p.74f.
16. *ibid.*, p.63.
17. *ibid.*, p.67f.
18. *ibid.*, p.134.
19. Hermand, *op. cit.*, p.37.
20. Holz, Briefe, p.66.
21. DW I, p.18.
22. *ibid.*, p.19.
23. *ibid.*, p.20.
- 24., *ibid.*, p.22.
25. *ibid.*, p.23.
26. *ibid.*, p.23.
27. *ibid.*, p.34.

28. *ibid.*, p.8.
29. Hermann Ploetz, "Arno Holz der Deutsche", Ostdeutsche Monatshefte, January 1934, p.334.
30. DW I, p.224.
31. Alfred Klein, "Zur Entwicklung der sozialistischen Literatur in Deutschland 1918-33" in: Irmfried Hiebel (ed.), Literatur der Arbeiterklasse, Berlin, 1971, p.23f.
32. Arno Holz and Oskar Jerschke, Deutsche Weisen, Leipzig, 1884.
33. Holz, Briefe, p.59.
34. Holz, Briefe, p.66f. Similarly Holz's positive response to the founding of the Weimar Republic shows that as regards his general political views he maintained, in this respect at least, a degree of consistency:

Die Zuversicht, dass die Revolution - vorausgesetzt, dass unser Volk nicht unter die Fuchtel irgendeiner abermaligen Gewaltherrschaft gerät - für seine Geistigen keinen Zusammenbruch, sondern den Anfang eines neuen sozialen Aufbaues bedeutet, teile ich.
 (Arno Holz 10.1.1919)

This statement appeared in a pamphlet entitled "Für das neue Deutschland" (published by Otto Elsner A-G, Berlin, 1919) in which various personalities such as Gerhart Hauptmann, Thomas Mann, Heinrich Mann and Fritz von Unruh were invited to express their view on the founding of the Republic and on the assumption of power by a socialist government. The document was made available to me by the Arno Holz Archive in Berlin.
35. DW I, p.78.
36. Holz, Briefe, p.67.
37. Ernst Troeltsch, Schriften, Tübingen, 1912, Vol.I, p.84.
38. DW I, p.XI.
39. *ibid.*, p.38.
40. *ibid.*, p.X.
41. *ibid.*, p.XI.
42. *ibid.*, p.47.
43. Holz, Briefe, p.67.
44. DW I, p.XII.
45. *ibid.*, p.22.
46. Holz, Briefe, p.75f.
47. DW I, p.48.
48. *ibid.*, p.46.
49. Georg Fülberth, Proletarische Partei und bürgerliche Literatur, Neuwied and Berlin, 1972;
 Herbert Scherer, Bürgerlich-oppositionelle Literatur und sozialdemokratische Arbeiterbewegung nach 1890, Stuttgart, 1974.
50. Heinrich Hart, "Die Moderne", Der Kunstwart, IV (1890-1), Munich, p.149.

51. cf. Johannes Schlaf who identified with socialism as an expression of sympathy with the lower classes but who rejected it as an ideology. See Johannes Schlaf, Aus meinem Leben, Halle, 1941, p.38f.
52. DW I, p. 359f.
53. Franz Servaes, "Nietzsche und der Sozialismus", Freie Bühne, III 1892, Berlin, p.205.
54. Klaus R. Scherpe, "Der Fall Arno Holz. Zur sozialen und ideologischen Motivation der naturalistischen Literaturrevolution", in: Gert Mattenklott and Klaus R. Scherpe (ed.), Positionen der literarischen Intelligenz zwischen bürgerlicher Reaktion und Imperialismus, Kronberg, 1973, pp.121-178, here p.137.
55. For a more balanced account of the relationship of Naturalism and socialism, see: Jost Hermand and Richard Hamann, Naturalismus, Munich, 1972, p.209ff.
Friedrich Kummer, Deutsche Literaturgeschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, Dresden, 1922, Vol.2, p.244ff.
Ursula Münchow, op.cit., p.147ff.
John Osborne, The Naturalist Drama in Germany, Manchester, 1971, p.56ff.
Roy Pascal, From Naturalism to Expressionism, London, 1973.
56. For a more detailed discussion of this and other similar debates, see Osborne, op.cit., pp.62-65.
57. ibid., p.63.
58. cf. my discussion of this in Chapter 2(i), p.87ff.
59. Georg Lukács, "Franz Mehring 1846-1914" in: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ästhetik, Berlin, 1954, pp.318-403.
60. Franz Mehring, Gesammelte Schriften, ed. Höhle, Koch and Schleifstein, Berlin, 1960-67, Vol.XI, p.449.
61. ibid., p.135.
62. Paul Ernst, "Mehring's Lessing-Legende und die materialistische Geschichtsauffassung", Die Neue Zeit, ed. Karl Kautsky, (1883-1914) 1-32, No.12, p.7.
63. See Fülberth, op.cit., p.53.
64. Pascal, op.cit., p.185.
65. Klein, loc.cit., p.23f.
66. Armin Kesser, "Die Arbeiterlyrik der S P D", Die Linkskurve 4Jg., Berlin, 1932, No.10, pp.14-19, here p.15.
67. Mehring, op.cit., p.234.
68. ibid., p.234.
69. ibid., p.135.
70. ibid., p.563.
71. Gerald Stieg and Bernd Witte, Abriss einer Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterliteratur, Stuttgart, 1973, p.25.

72. cf. Münchow, op.cit., p.31.
73. Arno Holz und sein Werk. Deutsche Stimmen zu seinem 60. Geburtstag, ed. Friedrich Avenarius, Berlin, 1923, p.56.
74. ibid., p.53.
75. Alfred Döblin, Aufsätze zur Literatur, Olten and Freiburg, 1963, p.138.
76. ibid., p.141.
77. Gerhart Schulz, Arno Holz. Dilemma eines bürgerlichen Dichterlebens, Munich, 1974, p.29.
78. Döblin, op.cit., p.145.
79. ibid., p.143.
80. ibid., p.145.
81. ibid., p.141.
82. ibid., p.145.

CHAPTER I (ii)

1. DW I, p.534.
2. The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, ed. Thomas Hutchinson, London, 1913, p.269.
3. Walter Benjamin, Baudelaire, ein Lyriker im Zeitalter des Hochkapitalismus, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, Frankfurt a.M., 1969.
4. A more detailed account of the effects of industrialisation on German society is given by Ralf Dahrendorf, Gesellschaft und Demokratie in Deutschland, Munich, 1971, pp.39-55. See also Pascal, op.cit., p.124ff.
5. Pascal, op.cit., p.124.
6. DW I, p.52.
7. ibid., p.115.
8. ibid., p.117
9. Hermand and Hamann, Naturalismus, p.66.
10. Ernst Stadler, Dichtungen (2 Vols.), ed. Karl Ludwig Schneider, Hamburg o.J., 1954, Vol.I, p.152.
11. Pascal, op.cit., p.143.
12. Fritz Hoffmann, "Nachwort", in: Fritz Hoffmann, Joachim Schreik, Manfred Wolter (ed.), Über die grossen Städte, Berlin, 1967, p.476.
13. Johannes R. Becher, "Brief an Walter Rheiner 24.5.1920", in: K. Edschmid (ed.), Briefe der Expressionisten, Frankfurt a.M., 1964, p.22.
14. DW I, p.98.

15. *ibid.*, p.100.
16. *ibid.*, p.92.
17. *ibid.*, p.97.
18. Stadler, Dichtungen, Vol.I, p.189.
19. Helmut Uhlig, "Von Ästhetizismus zum Expressionismus in Ernst Stadler, Georg Heym und Georg Trakl" in: Hermann Friedmann and Otto Mann (ed.), Expressionismus: Gestalten einer literarischen Bewegung, Heidelberg, 1956, p.101.
20. In fact, the whole verse from "Berliner Frühling" is quoted as a motto for the book. Here, "Vorwort", Im steinernen Meer, ed. Oskar Hübner and Johannes Moegelin, Berlin, 1910, p.IX.
21. Quadrige, Vierteljahresschrift der Werkleute auf Haus Nyland, Jena, 1912-14, p.48.
22. DW I, p.103.
23. Stadler, Dichtungen, Vol.I, p.175.
24. Heinz Rölleke, Die Stadt bei Stadler, Heym und Trakl, Berlin, 1966, p.103.
25. DW I, p.77.
26. Gerrit Engelke, Das Gesamtwerk, Munich, 1960, p.51.
27. *ibid.*, p.95.
28. Georg Heym, Dichtungen und Schriften, (5 Vols.), ed. Karl Ludwig Schneider, Hamburg, 1960, Vol.I, p.349.
29. cf. Schulz, *op.cit.*, p.27.
30. DW I, p.97.
31. Moderne Dichter-Charaktere, p.136.
32. DW I, p.86.
33. *ibid.*, p.57 and p.77.
34. *ibid.*, p.78 and p.85.
35. See Osborne, *op.cit.*, for detailed discussion (pp.69-73.)
36. Wilhelm Bölsche, Hinter der Weltstadt, Leipzig, 1901, p.viii (quoted by Osborne, *op.cit.*, p.69.)
37. DW I, p.III.
38. Rölleke, *op.cit.*, p.160.
39. DW X, p.534.
40. Döblin, *op.cit.*, p.138.
41. Helmut Scheuer, Arno Holz im literarischen Leben des ausgehenden 19. Jahrhunderts (1883-1896), Munich, 1971, p.22.
42. DW I, p.53ff.
43. DW I, p.121.

44. *ibid.*, p.37.
45. cf. Pascal, *op.cit.*, p.143.
46. DW I, p.108.
47. *ibid.*, p.107.
48. *ibid.*, p.117.
49. cf. Keith Bullivant and Hugh Ridley, Industrie und deutsche Literatur 1830-1914, Munich, 1976, p.214.
50. Schulz, *op.cit.*, p.24.
51. cf. So betrachtet liegt dem Kampf gegen den Naturalismus. . .ein antisozialistischer Affekt zugrunde. . .Denn schliesslich ist der Naturalismus die erste moderne Kunstbewegung überhaupt, die sich mit den sozialen, politischen und wissenschaftlichen Konsequenzen des heutigen Industriezeitalters zu beschäftigen beginnt. . .Eine solche Revolte gegen alles Scheinkünstlerische musste bei der sorgfältig manipulierten Kulturpolitik der wilhelminischen Ära notwendig auf scharfen Widerstand stossen. So dumm waren die herrschenden Klassen schon damals nicht, um eine Bewegung wie den Naturalismus einfach passieren zu lassen. Und so wurde der Naturalismus nicht nur in Deutschland, sondern in allen europäischen Ländern um 1900 durch einen von oben geforderten Symbolismus ersetzt, .
Hermand, Der Schein des schönen Lebens, p.38.
52. This is expressed above all in the two essays, "Der Geist des naturalistischen Zeitalters" and "Vom alten zum neuen Naturalismus. Akademie-Rede über Arno Holz." (in: Aufsätze zur Literatur, pp.62-83 and pp.138-144.)
53. Pascal, *op.cit.*, p.278.

CHAPTER 2

1. Arno Holz and Johannes Schlaf, Neue Gleise, Berlin, 1892.
2. Quotations from this will be given from Arno Holz, Das Werk, Vol.10 (DW X), Berlin, 1925.
3. Gero von Wilpert, Sachwörterbuch der Literatur, Stuttgart, 1969, p.700.
4. Marianne Kesting, Entdeckung und Destruktion, Munich, 1970, p.175.
5. cf. "Arno Holz und die moderne Kunst" in: Wilhelm Emrich, Protest und Verheissung, Frankfurt, 1960, pp.155-168.
6. Pascal, *op.cit.*, p.60.
7. cf. Siegwart Berthold, "Der sogenannte 'konsequente Naturalismus' von Arno Holz und Johannes Schlaf", *Phil.Diss.*, Bonn, 1967, p.50.
8. In the original Neue Gleise volume the title "Die papierne Passion" actually embraces four sketches: the title sketch, "Krumme Windgasse 20.", "Die kleine Emmi" and "Ein Abschied". Strictly speaking, only the first

two sketches belong to this category, and "Die kleine Emmi", in particular, reveals a marked subjectivist tendency. Similarly, "Die Familie Selicke" is in one sense a category on its own, since it is a drama rather than a prose-work. However, the important thing for the present discussion is to draw the distinction between two types of writing and in so far as these types exist in a pure form, they are represented by "Die papierne Passion" and "Ein Tod", on the one hand, and by "Papa Hamlet" and "Der erste Schultag", on the other.

CHAPTER 2 (i)

1. cf. Scherpe, loc.cit., p.159.
2. Holz, Briefe, p.262.
3. cf. DW X, p.105.
4. ibid., p.59.
5. ibid., p.64.
6. ibid., p.69.
7. ibid., p.72f.
8. Osborne, op.cit., p.42.
9. DW X, p.159.
10. ibid., p.80.
11. ibid., p.83.
12. ibid., p.131.
13. Scherpe, loc.cit., p.157.
14. Roy Pascal, "Consequential Naturalism". (Lecture, Warwick University, November, 1972.)
15. W. Rasch, "Zur dramatischen Dichtung des jungen Gerhart Hauptmann" in: Festschrift für F.R. Schröder, Heidelberg, 1959, p.245.
16. Osborne, op.cit., p.42.
17. Wyndham Lewis, The Writer and the Absolute quoted in: Walter Allen, The English Novel, London, 1954, p.248.
18. Heinrich Hart, "Literarische Erinnerungen", Gesammelte Werke (4 Vols.), ed. Julius Hart, Berlin, 1907, Vol.III, p.69.
19. Pascal, op.cit., p.60.
20. Fritz Martini, Das Wagnis der Sprache, Stuttgart, 1954, p.109.
21. DW X, p.64.
22. Günther Mahal, Naturalismus, Munich, 1975, p.169.
23. DW X, p.330.

24. Gerhard Fricke, Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung, Hamburg and Lubeck, 1961, p.329.
25. cf. Mahal, op.cit., p.169. and Hermand and Hamann, Naturalismus, pp.250-264.
26. DW X, p.189.
27. ibid., p.253.
28. Neue Gleise, p.204.
29. See below, p.119ff.
30. Neue Gleise, p.19.
31. A term coined by Franz Servaes and gratefully accepted by Holz, cf. DW X, p.254.
32. ibid., p.214.
33. Neue Gleise, p.14.
34. ibid., p.204.
35. ibid., p.208.
36. ibid., p.215f.
37. Hermand and Hamann, Naturalismus, p.253.
38. ibid., p.252.
39. DW X, p.254.
40. Neue Gleise, p.158f.
41. Scherpe, loc.cit., p.170.
42. DW X, p.232.
43. "Sie schildern auch wie ein Kleinmaler, wie einer, der keine distance hat, sondern aus nächster Nähe mit der Lupe beobachtet; . . ." Letter from Gerhart Hauptmann to Holz and Schlaf, 12.2.1889., a copy of which is available in the Arno Holz archive in Berlin.
44. H.H. Borchardt, "Einführung" to Holz, Briefe, p.21.
45. DW X, p.254.
46. Martini, op.cit., p.120.
47. ibid., p.122.
48. Roy Pascal, "Arno Holz, Der erste Schultag. The Prose-Style of Naturalism" in: H. Siefken and A. Robinson (ed.), Erfahrung und Überlieferung, Festschrift for C.P. Magill, Cardiff, 1974 and "The Prose of Papa Hamlet. The Irrepressible Narrator", (unpublished manuscript, pp.1-23.)
49. Martini, op.cit., p.114.
50. See below, p.115f.
51. Neue Gleise, p.149.
52. cf. Martini, op.cit., and Roy. C. Cowen, Der Naturalismus, Munich, 1975, p.94.

53. DW X, p.330.
54. *ibid.*, p.222.
55. David Turner, "Die Familie Selicke and the Drama of Naturalism" in: J.M. Ritchie (ed.), Periods in German Literature, London, 1969, Vol.2, p.207.
56. *ibid.*, p.208.
57. Mahal, *op.cit.*, p.214.
58. Schulz, *op.cit.*, p.52.
59. Mahal, *op.cit.*, p.213.
60. *ibid.*, p.208.
61. Neue Gleise, pp.8-10.
62. Mahal, *op.cit.*, p.209f.
63. *ibid.*, p.214.
64. *ibid.*, p.209.
65. *ibid.*, p.210.
66. Gerhart Hauptmann, Vor Sonnenaufgang. Soziales Drama, Berlin, 1889, p.3.
67. cf. Berthold, *op.cit.*, pp.137-144; C.F.W. Behl and Felix A. Voigt, Chronik von Gerhart Hauptmanns Leben und Schaffen, Munich, 1957, p.27ff.
68. Osborne, *op.cit.*, p.38.
69. Pascal, "The Prose of Papa Hamlet", (p.1f.)
70. Roy Johnson, "The Proletarian Novel" in: Literature and History, No.2, London, 1975, pp.84-95, here p.90.
71. *ibid.*, p.93.
72. Hermand and Hamann, Naturalismus, p.8.
73. *ibid.*, p.250.
74. Martini, *op.cit.*, p.115.
75. Martin Walser, "Ein Nachwort zur Ergänzung" in: Ursula Trauberg, Vorleben, Reinbek, 1970, p.195.
76. *ibid.*, p.196.
77. Günter Wallraff, Neue Reportagen, Untersuchungen und Lehrbeispiele, Reinbek, 1974, p.134.
78. Erika Runge, Frauen. Versuche zur Emanzipation, Frankfurt, 1969, p.266.
79. Reportage is a term belonging originally to the realm of journalism ("Publizistik") which was taken over into literature in Germany in the twenties; cf. below, Lukács's discussion of reportage as a literary technique, p.91f.
80. Wilpert, *op.cit.*, p.636.
81. Siegfried Kracauer, Die Angestellten, (1929), Frankfurt, a.M., 1971, p.16.
82. Quoted by Reinhard Dithmar in: Günter Wallraffs Industriereportagen, Kronberg, 1973, p.67.

83. Günter Wallraff, Von einem der auszog und das Fürchten lernte, Munich, 1970, p.37f.
84. Wallraff, Neue Reportagen, p.133f.
85. Klas Ewert Everwyn, "Beschreibung eines Betriebsunfalls" in: Fritz Hüser (ed.), Aus der Welt der Arbeit, Neuwied, 1966, pp.37-48.
86. *ibid.*, p.42ff.
87. *ibid.*, p.42.
88. *ibid.*, p.38.
89. *ibid.*, p.48.
90. DW X, p.45.
91. cf. "Hervorragendes Mittel der Dokumentation ist die Montage, sie soll über die bloße Wiedergabe von zufälligen Realitätsausschnitten hinausgehen." Wallraff, Neue Reportagen, p.134.
92. Lukács's critique of Naturalism, while it is articulated at many points in the body of his writings, is expressed at its most concise in the essay, "Kunst und objektive Wahrheit" (in: Georg Lukács.Werke, Vol.4, Neuwied and Berlin, 1971.) In my exegesis, therefore, I shall draw primarily on the concepts used there. It is significant, however, that when he does expressly mention Holz, it is to note the formal achievement of his contribution to Naturalism: "Es ist das Verdienst von Holz und Schlaf, dass sie die Tendenz der Naturwahrheit, den Aufstand gegen die lebensferne Künstlichkeit der damals herrschenden Literatur theoretisch und praktisch auf eine Stilform brachten."
Georg Lukács, "Der deutsche Naturalismus" in: Schriften zur Literatursoziologie, Neuwied and Berlin, 1961, p.456.
93. Georg Lukács, Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein, Amsterdam, 1923, p.21.
94. Lukács, "Kunst und objektive Wahrheit", *loc.cit.*, p.620.
95. Georg Lukács, "Reportage oder Gestaltung? Kritische Bemerkungen anlässlich des Romans von Ottwalt" in: Die Linkskurve IV, 7, 8, 1932, pp.23-30, pp.26-31.
96. cf. Rob Burns, "The Theory and Organisation of Revolutionary Working-Class Literature" in: Keith Bullivant (ed.), Culture and Society in the Weimar Republic, Manchester, 1977, pp.122-49.
97. Lukács, "Reportage oder Gestaltung?", *loc.cit.*, p.27.
98. *ibid.*, p.27.
99. Walter Benjamin, "Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit" in: Illuminationen, Frankfurt, 1969, p.170.
100. See, for example, Siegfried Kracauer's analysis of the film in which he uses familiar terms such as "surface approach", the recording of "thousands of details without connecting them", "kaleidoscopic arrangement" and which includes a line of criticism so often directed at Naturalism: "This symphony fails to point out anything, because it does not uncover a single significant context." (p.187.) Siegfried Kracauer, From Caligari to Hitler, Princeton, 1947, pp.182-187.
101. Georg Lukács, "Erzählen oder beschreiben?" in: Georg Lukács.Werke, Vol.4, p.226.

CHAPTER 2 (ii)

1. Arno Holz, "Eine neue Dramaturgie. II" in: Der sozialistische Akademiker, 2.Jg., No.7, Berlin, 1896, pp.432-437. (The essay is available in copy-form in the Arno Holz Archive.)
2. cf. the quotation on p.97.
3. Raymond Williams, Keywords, Glasgow, 1976, p.184.
4. Hans-Georg Rappl, "Die Wortkunsttheorie von Arno Holz", Phil.Diss., Cologne, 1957.
5. DW X, p.130f.
6. cf. a letter of 10.2.1889 : "Des Photographen? Wieder so ein 'Stichwort'! . . . Aber nur wenige mögen existieren, die gedankenhöher, als grade dieses sind. So eine Blindheit! Wie kann ein 'Hirn' 'photographieren'!?" (Briefe, p.84); or a letter of 2.6.1896 where Holz rejects the term "Nachahmung": "in dem heutigen strikten Sinn. . . Dieser Begriff und 'Kunst'. Puh. Dann allerdings hätten die Gegner nur zu recht!" (Briefe, p.104f.)
7. Emrich, op.cit., p.155.
8. Emrich, for example, writes:
Um jede Verwechslung mit naturalistischen Vorstellungen zu vermeiden, hat Arno Holz später die Formel. . . abgeändert. . . Er beseitigt also die Wörter "wieder" und "Reproduktionsbedingungen", um sich abzusetzen von seinen Kritikern, die ihm vorwarfen, nach seiner Theorie solle die Kunst die Natur nur photographisch genau abbilden." (Emrich, op.cit., p.156, footnote I.)
9. DW X, p.186f.
10. ibid., p.139.
11. ibid., pII.
12. Emrich, op.cit., p.156.
13. Schulz, op.cit., p.45.
14. DW X, p.198f.
15. Osborne, op.cit., p.41.
16. DW X, p.187.
17. Pascal, "The Prose of Papa Hamlet", (p.18.)
18. Käte Hamburger, Die Logik der Dichtung, Stuttgart, 1968, p.73.
19. In his typology Stanzel terms this the "personal" perspective in contradistinction to the other narrative modes of authorial and first person perspective. This is a useful categorisation provided that the distinction between voice and perspective is asserted within the personal type: cf. F.K. Stanzel, Die typischen Erzählsituationen im Roman, Vienna and Stuttgart, 1955.
20. cf. the first four chapters which comprise Part I of Roy Pascal, The Dual Voice, Manchester, 1977, pp.1-32.

21. *ibid.*, p.31.
22. Pascal, "The Prose of Papa Hamlet", (p.18.)
23. cf. *ibid.*, (p.21.) and the historical survey of the critical assessment of the technique in The Dual Voice.
24. DW X, p.41.
25. *ibid.*, p.45.
26. *ibid.*, p.336.
27. Neue Gleise, p.197.
28. *ibid.*, p.174f.
29. Pascal, "Arno Holz, Der erste Schultag", *loc.cit.*, p.160.
30. The sketch "Die kleine Emmi" provides another good example of this technique. Here the perspective is consistently Emmi's, mediated as in "Der erste Schultag" more through perspectivised narration than free indirect style.
31. Borchardt, *loc.cit.*, p.19.
32. Osborne, *op.cit.*, p.49.
33. Pascal, "Arno Holz, Der erste Schultag", p.161f.
34. Neue Gleise, p.172.
35. *ibid.*, p.111.
36. *ibid.*, p.122.
37. *ibid.*, p.115.
38. *ibid.*, p.117.
39. *ibid.*, p.126.
40. *ibid.*, p.113.
41. *ibid.*, p.129.
42. *ibid.*, p.147.
43. Pascal "The Prose of Papa Hamlet", (p.13.)
44. *ibid.*, (p.13A.) Pascal is thus challenging the conventional definition of the inner monologue which always demands the first person-form and the present tense and which thus sees the inner monologue as a contrast to "erlebte Rede" (cf. Wilpert, *op.cit.*, p.355) Although, strictly speaking, the more clumsy term "indirect inner monologue" or the unwieldy "inner monologue in the form of the indirect speech" would be more accurate, therefore, Pascal is, to my mind, essentially right in his view that such passages merit the term, monologue.
45. Neue Gleise, p.121. Schulz compares this with the actual monologue from Hamlet (Act II, Scene 2) as found in the translation by A.W. Schlegel:

Ich habe seit kurzem-ich weiss nicht wodurch-alle meine Munterkeit eingebüsst, meine gewohnten Übungen aufgegeben; und es steht in der Tat so übel um meine Gemütslage, dass die Erde, dieser treffliche Bau, mir nur ein kahles Vorgebirge scheint, seht ihr, dieser herrliche

Baldachin, die Luft, dies wackre umwölbende Firmament, dies majestätische Dach mit goldnem Feuer ausgelegt: kommt es mir doch nicht anders vor, als ein fauler, verpesteter Haufe von Dünsten. Welch ein Meisterwerk ist der Mensch! wie edel durch Vernunft! wie unbegrenzt an Fähigkeiten! In Gestalt und Bewegung wie bedeutend und wunderwürdig! im Handeln wie ähnlich einem Engel! im Begreifen wie ähnlich einem Gott! die Zierde der Welt! das Vorbild der Lebendigen! Und doch, was ist mir diese Quintessenz von Staube? Ich habe keine Lust am Manne - und am Weibe auch nicht, wiewohl ihr das durch euer Lächeln zu sagen scheint.
(Schulz, op.cit., p.245.)

46. Pascal, "The Prose of Papa Hamlet", (p.13A.)
47. Walter Sokel, Der literarische Expressionismus. Der Expressionismus in der deutschen Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts, Munich, 1970, p.31.
48. Pascal, "The Prose of Papa Hamlet", (p.14.)
49. Pascal, "Arno Holz, Der erste Schultag", loc.cit., p.160.
50. Pascal, "The Prose of Papa Hamlet", (p.14f.)
51. Neue Gleise, p.119.
52. ibid., p.114.
53. ibid., p.140.
54. ibid., p.117f.
55. Pascal, "The Prose of Papa Hamlet", (p.8.)
56. Neue Gleise, p.149.
57. ibid., p.128.
58. Pascal, "Arno Holz, Der erste Schultag", loc.cit., p.159.
59. Pascal, "The Prose of Papa Hamlet", (p.7.)
60. Osborne, op.cit., p.49.
61. Holz, Briefe, p.83.
62. Pascal, "The Prose of Papa Hamlet", (p.15.)
63. Neue Gleise, p.114.
64. ibid., p.152.
65. Fritz Martini, "Nachwort" to the Reclam edition of Papa Hamlet, Stuttgart, 1970, p.114.
66. Neue Gleise, p.130.
67. For analysis of this passage and the exact location of the quotations from Hamlet that comprise it, see: Dieter Schickling, "Interpretationen und Studien zur Entwicklung und geistesgeschichtlichen Stellung des Werkes von Arno Holz", Phil.Diss., Tübingen, 1965, pp.88-90.
68. Martini, "Nachwort", loc.cit., p.117.
69. Reproduced in the Neue Gleise volume, pp.94-104.
70. Martini, "Nachwort", loc.cit., p.117.

71. Martini, Das Wagnis der Sprache, p.110.
72. Neue Gleise, op.cit., p.160.
73. Martini, Das Wagnis der Sprache, pp.118-121.
74. Pascal, "The Prose of Papa Hamlet", (p.16.)
75. The actual Hamlet quotations are as follows:
 Act 2, Scene 2, Hamlet: "Lasst uns eine Probe eurer Kunst sehen.
 Wohlan! eine pathetische Rede."
 Act 1, Scene 4, Hamlet: "Und meine Seele, kann es der was tun,
 Die ein unsterblich Ding ist. . ."
 (quoted from the A.W. Schlegel translation by Schulz, op.cit., p.246.)
76. Richard Hinton Thomas, "The Commitment of German Studies", (an inaugural lecture delivered in the University of Birmingham on 14th October, 1965, pp.3-5.)
77. Richard Hinton Thomas and Keith Bullivant, Literature in Upheaval, Manchester, 1974, p.2.
78. Osborne, op.cit., p.47.
79. Martini, Das Wagnis der Sprache, p.117f.
80. ibid., p.118.
81. ibid., p.123.
82. Peter Weiss, Der Schatten des Körpers des Kutschers, Frankfurt a.M., 1960 (the edition quoted here is edition suhrkamp 53, 5. Auflage, 1971.)
83. Dieter Wellershoff, Ein schöner Tag, Cologne and Berlin, 1966.
84. Elias Canetti, Aufzeichnungen 1942-1948, Munich, 1965, p.8f.
85. Weiss, ed.cit., p.31f.
86. Osborne, op.cit., p.46f.
87. Pascal, "Arno Holz, Der erste Schultag", loc.cit., p.157.
88. Weiss, ed.cit., p.61.
89. Osborne, op.cit., p.46.
90. Weiss, ed.cit., p.68.
91. ibid., p.7.
92. ibid., p.14.
93. ibid., p.71f.
94. ibid., p.73.
95. ibid., p.88.
96. ibid., p.48.
97. ibid., p.10.
98. Rose Zeller, "Peter Weiss. Der Schatten des Körpers des Kutschers. Erzähler und Autor" in: Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, 87 (1968), p.643ff.

99. Weiss, ed.cit., p.9.
100. ibid., pp.25-27.
101. ibid., p.71.
102. ibid., p.14.
103. Karl Krolow, "Porträt strenger Isoliertheit", Deutsche Rundschau, June 1963, No.6, p.61ff.
104. In a review of "Papa Hamlet" (in: Das Magazin für die Literatur des In- und Auslandes, 58Jg., Dresden, 2 November 1889, No.45, p.713.) Kaberlin calls the sketches "Neurealistische Novellen", thus anticipating by some seventy years Wellershoff's term.
105. cf. his second and third novels, Die Schattengrenze and Einladung an alle.
106. Dieter Wellershoff, Literatur und Veränderung, Cologne and Berlin, 1969, p.22.
107. ibid., p.22.
108. Robert Burns, "Ein schöner Tag - Neuer Realismus oder psychologisierter Naturalismus?" in: Richard Hinton Thomas (ed.), Der Schriftsteller Dieter Wellershoff, Cologne and Berlin, 1975, p.17.
109. Martini, Das Wagnis der Sprache, p.125.
110. Burns, "Ein schöner Tag - Neuer Realismus oder psychologisierter Naturalismus?", loc.cit., pp.19-25.
111. Wellershoff, Literatur und Veränderung, p.96.
112. Burns, "Ein schöner Tag - Neuer Realismus oder psychologisierter Naturalismus?", loc.cit., p.27.
113. Wellershoff, Literatur und Veränderung, p.103.
114. Wellershoff, Ein schöner Tag, p.195.
115. ibid., p.99.
116. Wellershoff, Literatur und Veränderung, p.90.
117. Günter Zehm, "Ein deutscher 'Nouveau Roman.' Dieter Wellershoffs Werk aus seiner Kölner Schule", Die Welt der Literatur, 22 September 1966.
118. Wellershoff, Literatur und Veränderung, p.89.
119. ibid., p.27.
120. Burns, "Ein schöner Tag - Neuer Realismus oder psychologisierter Naturalismus?", loc.cit., p.32.
121. Wellershoff, Ein schöner Tag, p.34.
122. ibid., p.115.
123. ibid., p.13.
124. ibid., p.75.
125. ibid., p.48.
126. Hamburger, Die Logik der Dichtung, p.73.

127. Wellershoff, Ein schöner Tag, p.153.
128. *ibid.*, p.125.
129. *ibid.*, p.15.
130. *ibid.*, p.190f.
131. Letter to Richard Hinton Thomas, Cologne 5.3.75., p.1f.
132. Schulz, *op.cit.*, p.47; cf. Martini: "Kunst wird (for Holz, R.A.B.) als eine Methode und als eine Funktion zum Erkenntnisakt." Wagnis der Sprache, p.113.

CHAPTER 2 (iii)

1. Herbert Scherer, "The Individual and the collective in Döblin's Berlin Alexanderplatz", in: Keith Bullivant (ed.), Culture and Society in the Weimar Republic, pp.56-70, here p.65.
2. cf. the essays "Grabrede auf Arno Holz", "Vom alten zum neuen Naturalismus. Akademie-Rede über Arno Holz" and "Einführung in eine Arno Holz-Auswahl" in: Alfred Döblin, Aufsätze zur Literatur, pp.133-138, pp.138-145 and pp.145-163.respectively.
3. cf. "Manche sind der Meinung, dass das, wovon hier die Rede ist, überhaupt kein besonderer Geist, keine plastisch wirkende Kraft sei, sondern nur eine mit Wissenschaft verbrämte Handfertigkeit. . .Es ist grotesk, aber begreiflich, dass sogar Funktionäre des neuen Geistes ihn für materialistisch halten." Alfred Döblin, Aufsätze zur Literatur, p.67.
4. *ibid.*, p.145.
5. *ibid.*, p.136.
6. *ibid.*, p.139.
7. cf. "Als rigoröser Naturalist, hinter dem ein materialistischer Sozialismus stand, . . ." *ibid.*, p.161.
8. cf. the links Döblin wished to establish between Naturalism and the Labour Movement:

mit der sozialen Welle und der Arbeiterbewegung konnte zwar der Naturalismus auftreten, die Arbeiterbewegung konnte den Naturalismus gebären, aber sie konnte ihn nicht am Leben erhalten. . .
das starke deutsche Bürgertum konnte zwar die Geburt des Naturalismus nicht verhindern, aber es vermochte ihn langsam zu erdrücken.

ibid., p.141.
9. *ibid.*, p.154.
10. Quotations will be given from the edition Berlin Alexanderplatz, Munich, 1969 (7. Auflage)
11. Döblin, Aufsätze zur Literatur, p.109.

12. *ibid.*, p.107.
13. *ibid.*, p.132.
14. *ibid.*, p.154.
15. *ibid.*, p.157.
16. Döblin, Berlin Alexanderplatz, ed.cit., p.412.
17. *ibid.*, p.105.
18. Erich Hülse, "Alfred Döblins Berlin Alexanderplatz" in: Rolf Geissler (ed.), Möglichkeiten des modernen deutschen Romans, Frankfurt a.M., 1962, pp.45-101.
19. Döblin, Aufsätze zur Literatur, p.113.
20. *ibid.*, p.132.
21. *ibid.*, p.130.
22. Döblin, Berlin Alexanderplatz, ed.cit., p.414.
23. *ibid.*, p.163.
24. *ibid.*, p.345.
25. Döblin, Aufsätze zur Literatur, p.136.
26. *ibid.* pp.111-112.
27. *ibid.*, p.123.
28. Döblin, Berlin Alexanderplatz, ed.cit., p.117.
29. *ibid.*, p.118f.
30. *ibid.*, pp.55-57.
31. *ibid.*, p.43.
32. Döblin, Aufsätze zur Literatur, p.106.
33. *ibid.*, p.132.
34. Hülse, loc.cit., p.74.
35. Döblin, Berlin Alexanderplatz, ed.cit., p.95.
36. Martini, Das Wagnis der Sprache, p.370.
37. Döblin, Berlin Alexanderplatz, ed.cit., p.76f.
38. Martini, "Nachwort", loc.cit., p.117.
39. Hermann Meyer, Das Zitat in der Erzählkunst, Stuttgart, 1967, p.11.
40. Döblin, Aufsätze zur Literatur, p.177f.
41. Albrecht Schöne, "Alfred Döblins Berlin Alexanderplatz", in: Benno von Wiese (ed.), Der deutsche Roman. Vom Barock zur Gegenwart, Dusseldorf, 1963, Vol.2, p.323.
42. Walter Jens, Statt einer Literaturgeschichte, Tübingen, 1957, p.25.
43. Döblin, Berlin Alexanderplatz, ed.cit., pp.19-23.
44. *ibid.*, p.31.
45. *ibid.*, p.69.

46. *ibid.*, p.83.
47. *ibid.*, p.75f.
48. Martini, Das Wagnis der Sprache, p.343.
49. Döblin, Aufsätze zur Literatur, p.114.
50. Döblin, Berlin Alexanderplatz, ed.cit., p.88.
51. *ibid.*, p.7.
52. On one occasion in "Papa Hamlet" Holz achieves a similar effect. Section II opens with the famous "Sein oder Nichtsein" quotation but the typographical presentation is such as to create the effect of a caption rather than of the actual text of the chapter. (Neue Gleise, p.112.)
53. Döblin, Berlin Alexanderplatz, ed.cit., p.410.
54. Walter Muschg, "Nachwort" to Berlin Alexanderplatz, ed.cit., pp.415-430.
55. Schöne, loc.cit., p.322.
56. Volker Klotz, Die erzählte Stadt, Munich, 1969, p.413.
57. Döblin, Aufsätze zur Literatur, p.132.
58. Martini, Das Wagnis der Sprache, p.343.
59. Döblin, Aufsätze zur Literatur, p.136.

CHAPTER 3 (i)

1. The various editions of Phantasmus will be referred to according to the following abbreviations:
 - S = Berlin, Sassenbach, 1898/99 (Facsimile of the original edition, Gerhard Schulz, Stuttgart, 1968, (no page numbers.))
 - I = Leipzig, Insel-Verlag, 1916.
 - DW = Berlin, Dietz, 1924/25, Volumes 7-9.
 - W = Neuwied, Luchterhand, 1961-64, Volumes 1-3.
2. Emrich, op.cit., p.163.
3. W I, p.328.
4. See Franz Kleitsch, "Der "Phantasmus" von Arno Holz", Phil.Diss., Berlin, 1940.
5. Rappl, op.cit., p.31.
6. Emrich, op.cit., p.156f.
7. DW X, p.621.
8. *ibid.*, p.534.
9. *ibid.*, p.498.
10. *ibid.*, p.489.
11. *ibid.*, p.490.

12. *ibid.*, p.639f.
13. *ibid.*, p.650.
14. *ibid.*, p.537f.
15. *ibid.*, p.649.
16. *ibid.*, p.493 and p.693.
17. *ibid.*, p.503.
18. *ibid.*, p.529 and p.510.
19. *ibid.*, p.691.
20. *ibid.*, p.538.
21. *ibid.*, p.502.
22. *ibid.*, p.501.
23. *ibid.*, p.538f.
24. *ibid.*, p.494.
25. cf. "kein Mittel ist umfassender als das Wort. Es ersetzt, . . .bis zu einem gewissen Grade jedes übrige Mittel." *ibid.*, p.189.
26. See, for example, Schulz, *op.cit.*, p.83.
27. Ingrid Strohschneider-Kohrs, "Sprache und Wirklichkeit bei Arno Holz", Poetica I, (1967), p.47.
28. DW X, p.341.
29. *ibid.*, p.498f.
30. Schulz, *op.cit.*, p.83.
31. DW X, p.190.
32. *ibid.*, p.186f.
33. *ibid.*, p.187.
34. *ibid.*, p.198f.
35. Emrich, *op.cit.*, p.158.
36. Rappl, *op.cit.*, p.49f.
37. Emrich, *op.cit.*, p.161.
38. DW X, p.650.
39. *ibid.*, p.653.
40. Leopold Demler, "Arno Holz, Kunst und Natur", *Phil.Diss.*, Vienna, 1938, p.25.
41. DW X, p.651.
42. *ibid.*, p.605.
43. *ibid.*, p.642.
44. *ibid.*, p.651f.
45. Introduction to Phantasus, New York and London, 1968, p.xxxvi.

46. W I, p.7.
47. Schickling, op.cit., p.172.
48. DW X, p.653.
49. cf. Der da redet, ist das Ich des Arno Holz; aber dieses Ich versteht sich als eine Versammlung von Personen, historischen Figuren, Wunschhelden, Untieren Traumtänzern, Terroristen, Idyllikern, Sängern, Schreihälsen, Spiessbürgern, Teppichhändlern, Sternguckern etc. Dieses jeweils verwandelte Ich konkretisiert alle Erfahrungen, Imaginationen, Träume. "Alles durchrann mich." Holz gab im "Phantasmus" die Darstellung dessen, was in seinem Bewusstsein wohnte, rumorte oder schlief.
Jürgen Becker, "Das Riesen-Phantasmus-Nonplusultra-Poem", Deutsche Zeitung, No.161, 14/15 July 1962, p.19.
50. DW X, p.651.
51. ibid., p.502f.
52. ibid., p.656.
53. Hartwig Schultz, Vom Rhythmus der modernen Lyrik. Parallele Versstrukturen bei Holz, George, Rilke, Brecht und den Expressionisten, Munich, 1970, p.100.
54. Donald Davie, Articulate Energy, London, 1955, p.126.
55. Schultz, op.cit., p.101.
56. Karl Turley, Arno Holz. Der Weg eines Künstlers, Leipzig, 1935, p.68f.
57. DW X, p.620f.
58. Käthe Lichtenstern, "Der Phantasmus von Arno Holz in seiner formalen Entwicklung", Phil.Diss., Vienna, 1936, p.119.
59. ibid., p.120.
60. DW X, p.623.
61. ibid., p.574.
62. ibid., p.659.
63. ibid., p.657.
- 64.. Arno Holz, Phantasmus. Zur Einführung, Berlin, 1922, p.26.
65. I, p.12.
66. DW VII, p.7.
67. DW IX, pp.1264-9.
68. Holz, Briefe, p.210.
69. DW X, p.660f.
70. DW X, "Vorwort", pIII.
71. Robert Röss, Die Zahl als formendes Weltprinzip, Berlin, 1926. For discussion of this work see Schulz, op.cit., p.232.
72. cf. DW X, p.710 and "Vorwort" p.III.

73. ibid., "Vorwort" p.III.
74. Kleitsch, op.cit., p.68f.
75. ibid., p.26.
76. Rappl, op.cit., p.78.
77. Holz, Briefe, p.233.
78. W I, p.7f.
79. I, p.7.
80. DW X, p.670.
81. Döblin, Aufsätze zur Literatur, p.137.
82. Quoted in: Hans Fischer, Arno Holz. Eine Einführung in sein Werk, Berlin, 1924, p.123.
83. DW X, p.651.
84. W I, p.64.
85. S, (p.81,)
86. Schulz, op.cit., p.219.
87. S, (p.88.)
88. W I, p.175.
89. Gerhard Schmidt-Henkel, Mythos und Dichtung, Bad Homburg, 1967, p.146.
90. DW VIII, p.780.
91. DW VII, p.81.
92. I, p.6.
93. Holz, Briefe, p.265.
94. I, p.204 and p.265.
95. DW IX, pp.1190-2.
96. W III, p.363.
97. Kleitsch, op.cit., p.70.
98. ibid., p.70.
99. Schulz, op.cit., p.214.
100. W III, p.85f.
101. cf. W II, p.455 and p.95ff.
102. Schulz, op.cit., pp.211-223.
103. W III, p.301f.
104. Holz, Briefe, p.247.
105. Cowen, op.cit., p.234.
106. Schulz, op.cit., p.181 and p.199.
107. Rappl, op.cit., p.89.

108. Döblin, Aufsätze zur Literatur, op.cit., p.161.

CHAPTER 3 (ii)

1. Strohschneider-Kohrs, loc.cit., p.64f.
2. ibid., p.65.
3. "Nachwort", Papa Hamlet, ed.cit., p.105.
4. DW X, p.690.
5. ibid., p.693.
6. ibid., p.695.
7. ibid., p.694.
8. See above, p.190.
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- 11.. Walter Muschg, Von Trakl zu Brecht, Munich, 1961, p.62.
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26. cf. Radrizzani, loc.cit., p.439.
27. Quoted by Radrizzani, loc.cit., p.427.

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29. *ibid.*, p.14.
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34. *ibid.*, (p.31)
35. Moderner Musen-Almanach auf das Jahr 1893, ed. Otto Julius Bierbaum, Munich, 1892, p.74.
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37. Referred to, for example, by Holz himself, DW X, p.618.
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39. Adler, *op.cit.*, (p.48.)
40. cf. White, *op.cit.*, (p.19f.)
41. DW X, p.694f.
42. cf. White, (p.31.)
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44. cf. DW X, p.504, and p.658.
45. *ibid.*, p.538.
46. *ibid.*, p.538.
47. *ibid.*, p.547.
48. Introduction to Holz, Briefe, p.26.
49. Schultz, *op.cit.*, p.121.
50. *ibid.*, p.123ff.
51. "Zur Ästhetik der modernen Dichtung", Emrich, *op.cit.*, p.129f.
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61. *ibid.*, p.354f.
62. Alfred Döblin, Berge Meere und Giganten, Berlin, 1924, p.588f.
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67. Kreutzer, *op.cit.*, p.110.
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- 91., W I, p.22.
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99. DW X, p.503f.
100. Über Literatur, p.208.
101. Fauteck, loc.cit., p.4-73.
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104. cf. DW X, p.672f.
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106. Becker, loc.cit., p.19.
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109. Helmut Heissenbüttel, D'Alemberts Ende, Neuwied and Berlin, 1970, pp.213-220.
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111. cf. Zur Tradition der Moderne, pp.369-374.
112. Holz, Briefe, p.113.
113. W III, p.85f.
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123. W I, p.372ff.
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CONCLUSION

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 3. DW X, p.368.
 4. Pascal, "Arno Holz, Der erste Schultag", loc.cit., p.154.
 5. DW X, p.490.
 6. Über Literatur, p.9.
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 11. Becker, "Das Riesen-Phantasmus-Nonplusultra-Poem", loc.cit., p.19.
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 13. W III, P.359.
 14. Günter Grass, Hundejahre, Neuwied and Berlin, 1963, p.234f.
 15. cf. Der Inhalt ist der unvermeidliche Widerstand, der Vorwand für die Form. . .Es kommt nicht auf das Was an, nur auf das Wie. Der Inhalt stört nur, ist Konzession fürs Publikum, die Kunst will die Form an sich.
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16. In his essay entitled "Arno Holz, Alfred Döblin, Günter Grass. Zur Tradition von politischer Dichtung in Deutschland", (Moderna Språk, Stockholm, 1972) Manfred Durzak attempts to locate this point of intersection in the political development of Holz and Grass. While it would be inappropriate to comment here on the validity of this political relationship, I would nevertheless point out that Durzak does not develop his analysis to establish any substantial stylistic relationship between the two writers.
17. Michael Scharang, Einer muss immer parieren, Darmstadt and Neuwied, 1973, p.9.
18. *ibid.*, p.9.

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This bibliography divides into five sections:

- I Works by Arno Holz
- II Secondary literature on Holz relevant to this dissertation.
- III Secondary literature on Naturalism
- IV Texts both explored within and suggested by the major areas
 of relationship examined in the various chapters of this
 dissertation.
- V Other secondary sources

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